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GREECE,

ANCIENT AND MODERN.

LECTURES

DELIVERED BEFORE THE LOWELL INSTITUTE.

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THIRD COURSE.

CONSTITUTIONS AND ORATORS OF GREECE.

LECTURE I.

GENERAL VIEW OF GREECE. — GREEK POLITY.

The subject of the present course of lectures is the Constitutions and the Orators of Greece; but I will take the liberty of prefacing the discussion of it with a few general remarks.

European culture traces its origin mainly to the inhabitants of that comparatively diminutive country. In the remote East sprang up in early times forms of political existence, which, lasting, some a few centuries, and others many centuries, on completing their career, left but little for the instruction of the following ages. On the Indus and the Ganges, far back in the primeval times, civilized communities existed, in which the institution of caste established itself as a permanent organization, more despotic than despotism itself. Philosophy flourished there, as did poetry in all its forms; human life suggested to speculative minds ethical conclusions of large significance; and Divine themes occupied men's thoughts, leading them into mazes which still perplex the world. Egypt unfolded many sciences, and carried some of the arts to a high stage of progress. Her temples, pyramids, and gigantic statues amaze the traveller by the grandeur of their conception and the perfectness of their details. She performed a still greater service by the invention of hieroglyphics, which, including the germ of alphabetic writing, have furnished the means of placing on perpetual record the wisdom of the wise and the fair creations of the inventive mind. In Palestine, among the chosen people, God saw fit to manifest himself in a peculiar manner, through the inspired teachings of his servants, the prophets and leaders of Israel. But it was in Greece that literary taste, ideal art,

political constitutions, and the eloquence of the senate, the popular assembly, and the court of justice, first took a systematic form, and determined principles to be thenceforth recognized wherever civilization should plant itself.

By Hellenic culture the world was prepared for the Christian dispensation; first, by the humanizing spirit of the Greek philosophy, especially by the almost inspired teachings of Socrates, and of the two great men who afterwards divided the realm of speculative and practical wisdom between them; secondly, by furnishing a language through which the divine teachings of the Saviour and his Apostles might best reach the mind and heart of the world; and thirdly, by organizing the family relation on the basis of a true marriage of one man to one woman, and thus making it, not only the sanctuary of the best affections, but the source of the highest intellectual development. On this last great fact I place the chief stress in estimating the providential purposes which the Hellenic race were destined to accomplish. The Greeks were the earliest race to lift human society out of the infinite degradation and woe of polygamy, into which the primitive nations had fallen, into which the latest of the great impostures would sink mankind again. The cultivated and subtile Brahmin, with all his depth of speculative insight, and his immaculate purity of caste, neither saw the evil nor devised the remedy. The Egyptian, with all his art and ingenuity, surrounding himself with master works of architecture built for eternity, and shielding his mortal body from decay in the anticipation of another life, was blind to the simple law ordained by the Almighty, and recorded by his hand in the perpetual wonder of the numerical equality of births of man and woman, — the law which is the one condition of order in the state and of happiness in the household. The Hebrew even, though holding loftier ideas of the Divine nature than any of his neighbors and contemporaries, — though led from Egyptian bondage through the great and terrible wilderness into the promised land by supernatural guidance, and warned, taught, rebuked, encouraged by seer

and prophet, — failed to rise above the dreadful barbarism into which the domestic life of the Oriental races was plunged. In his home, the Hebrew was the master of a harem, and not the husband of a wife, though the first book of his sacred records, written by the great lawgiver of his ancestors, held up to his view an enchanting picture of the primeval condition of man. There is a wonderful coincidence between the best lessons drawn from Greek history and philosophy, and the teachings of Him who spoke with Divine authority in the Sermon on the Mount. It was not without a deeper cause than the casual incidents of travel, that St. Paul was courteously taken up the Hill of Mars, and, in sight of the prison where Socrates with his dying breath consoled his sorrowing disciples by his great argument for the immortality of the soul, unfolded the doctrines of the Christian faith to the listening sages of the city of Athene.

The play of contrasts between the Hellenic and the Oriental world is wonderful. Whence came these Greeks, and whence came the wisdom and the genius which, in so remarkable a manner, were embodied in their institutions and their history? Were they also, like the Brahmins, Egyptians, and Hebrews, children of the primeval and mysterious East, and did they come into their chosen land by a series of migrations, dating beyond the dawn of authentic history, and disguised under the veil of myth and fable? or were they, as they claimed to be, autochthones, — children of the soil on which they ran their brilliant historical career? The earliest legends of incomers from the East represent them as finding the country occupied. They bring with them the arts and wealth of older communities, and establish by their aid a predominating influence among simple and primitive tribes. Danaus flees from Egypt to Argos, and perpetuates his name in one of the appellations of the Hellenic people; Pelops brings his royal treasures from Phrygia, and gives his name for all future time to the great southern peninsula of Greece; Cecrops carries civilization from Egypt to Athens, and leaves a memorial of himself in the Cecropia, the

ancient and poetical designation of the Acropolis; Cadmus sails from Phœnicia with a more precious freight than adventurer ever bore to a distant land, and leaves the alphabet among the Greeks, and his name to the citadel of Thebes. But we find before them all the Pelasgians, with their simple religion, their rude handcraft, their oracles, their primitive habits, their hardy virtues, and their artless speech, destined to give birth to the mighty pair of languages which have brought safely down to us the most precious stores of thought from the wreck of the ancient world. Certain it is that there was an early connection of some extent between the inhabitants of Greece and the Aryan tribes of the East, from which they were so widely sundered in the historical ages. The affinities of language place this fact beyond a reasonable doubt; but they do not decisively settle the question, whether the first Pelasgic inhabitants of Greece came in one or in several migrations, or came at all from the Aryan land; and he who presses the argument from philology to an extreme conclusion is misled by his zeal for a theory, rather than guided by the pure love of truth.

At all events, when the Greeks first come within our historic survey, they have the Hellenic characteristics, with here and there an old Pelasgic background in the picture. Intellectually, morally, politically, they are heaven-wide from the Orientals, whose kindred they are supposed to be. Physically, too, the Hellenic type of humanity is very different from the Oriental.

The earliest distinct forms of Hellenic political society are those of the heroic age, as they are represented especially in the poems of Homer. Here we find domestic servitude, indeed, but scarcely a trace of Oriental despotism, no tokens of Brahminical caste, no polygamy. On the contrary, though the people are under the rule of kings, and the kingly power is hereditary, the monarch himself holds his sceptre from Zeus, and administers laws that come from Zeus. He is surrounded by wise counsellors, who give their opinions on all matters brought before them, with an outspoken freedom not always

safe in a republic. He calls his people together; they listen to the debate, and express their approbation or disapprobation, sometimes in a tumultuous manner which is anything but agreeable to the prince. The Iliad and the Odyssey are full of pictures of the political freedom of the heroic age, which contrast strangely with the despotism and corresponding servility among the Orientals.

I have spoken of the peculiar physical type which distinguishes the Greek from the Oriental. Compare the faces in the frieze of the Parthenon with the statues or figures in relief on the Egyptian temples or the marbles of Nineveh, or with the physiognomy of the ancient Hebrews among the captives of the Egyptian kings. What made the difference? Were they originally of different types? or did external causes develop the balanced head, the large facial angle, the straight nose, the short upper lip, the bowlike curve of the mouth, in the one, and the prominent features, especially the hooked nose and high cheek-bones, of the other? How is it that these races, wherever they exist, retain their characteristic marks, as strongly distinguished from each other as they are in the surviving monuments of Nineveh or Thebes, and of that wonder of the ages, the Parthenon at Athens? The Greek boy, dressing vines on the slopes of Delphi, might still serve as a model for the god whose temple lies hard by in ruins, below the rifted heights of the double-peaked Parnassian rock. The Greek girl, who comes down to Athens to prepare herself to teach the maidens of her native village among the mountains, and who reads Homer with a beauty of intonation and a music of rhythm which would drive a Porson, Bentley, or Wolf to despair, would furnish to a modern Pheidias the study for a modern Athene.

The Hellenic intellect, from the beginning, was keen, searching, brilliant. The Greek rejoiced in the loveliness of nature, without brooding over it as the modern sentimentalist does. To him nature was the framework of the picture of human life; and human life, in its shifting manifestations, with its

tragic fates, or its laughter-provoking incongruities and absurdities, was of deeper interest than even the charm of the beautiful nature which encompassed him. He was social, fond of talk, full of gay fancies, but logical as well as eloquent, — delighting alike in argument, in song, in the dance, and in the feast; yet happily constituted by the law of his being with a just perception of the true, the temperate, the beautiful, and therefore rarely transcending the line beyond which lies crude excess.

The physical character of Greece itself is most propitious to the happiest development of the human faculties of body and mind. The coast line is more indented than that of any other European country. The mountains are lofty, in proportion to the extent of the surface; and their ranges, cutting one another, divide the land into a succession of plains of various dimensions; while the gleaming appearance of the limestone and marble, contrasted with the belts of foliage that encircle the slopes, at least of the northern chains, give a singularly bright, silvery picturesqueness to their aspect. Olympus, seat of the gods, is nearly ten thousand feet high; Parnassus, haunt of the Muses, is more than eight thousand; and Cyllene, in Arcadia, rises almost to the same elevation. On Olympus, snow lies in spots all summer, justifying the Homeric epithet, *snowy*. It is used by the inhabitants of Thessalonica, as we use ice, to cool wine and water. In the rifts of Parnassus it is often found nearly to the middle of summer. Thus, notwithstanding its low latitude, — its extreme southern point being thirty-six degrees, — the climate of Greece is various, though generally temperate. In the lowlands the heat of summer is moderated by delicious breezes from the Mediterranean; while the mountain air in Arcadia, and along the ridges of Parnes, Helicon, Parnassus, Othrys, Pelion, Ossa, and Olympus, gives all the upper regions a refreshing coolness when the season is the hottest. It is impossible to exaggerate the beauty and grandeur of these mountain scenes, or to over-estimate the effect they must have had in exhilarating and exalting the minds of an intellectual race.

As you approach Greece from either side, you behold these summits touching the very sky, which arches over them with indescribable loveliness. As you coast along the Peloponnesus, the lofty heights of Cyllene and Taygetus bound the distant horizon; you enter the Corinthian Gulf from the Ionian Sea, and gaze with admiration upon Parnassus and Helicon; you pass down the Saronic Gulf, and Parnes, Pentelicus, and Hymettus shut in the plain of Athens, in the midst of which rises the immortal rock of the Acropolis, surmounted by the majestic remains of the Parthenon. Farther on, your eye rests upon the wooded heights of Ægina, with the picturesque solitude of the Panhellenian Zeus's mouldering columns. The headland of Sunium and the gleaming ruins of the temple of the Sunian Athene next salute you. From the eastern shore of Magnesia, the lofty and most picturesque and classic summits of Pelion, Ossa, and Olympus fill the eye with their united grandeur. From the height above the ancient Thessalonica you look down the Thermaic Gulf, surrounded by a panorama of magnificent mountain chains, such in natural beauty as few spots of earth have to show, — such as in charm of association are absolutely unrivalled. Farther on towers over the sea, in fair weather visible from the opposite shore of the Ægean, the singular shape of Mount Athos, against which were wrecked the Persian fleets, and on whose rocky slopes are now the ancient monastic establishments, constituting an ecclesiastical republic, and organized on the principles of representative government. From all these mountain heights, the traveller looks abroad upon prospects of unexampled splendor. The extent of Greece is so small, the coast so indented, the sea everywhere so near, that from every hill-top the landscape spread out before the eye includes all the elements of a beautiful picture, — a valley with a stream winding through it, distant hills, and at least a glimpse of the blue sea, with the sunny islands that gem its surface. From Parnassus and Helicon, from Cithæron and Parnes, from Pentelicus and Hymettus, the eye ranges over plains, rivers, gulfs, bays, and straits, whose names are immortal in history and in song.

How can I describe the air of Greece? How can I depict the splendid atmospheric effects which crown the spring and summer day? How can I paint the glories of the rising sun, as seen in Athens, when he comes up from beyond the blazing ridge of Hymettus, pouring his light into the plain and over the marble ruins of the Acropolis, and turning their embrowned surfaces into burnished gold? The atmosphere of Greece is wonderfully transparent. The voice is heard at amazing distances; and we at length understand how the orators on the Bema and the actors on the Dionysiac stage, in the open air, could be distinctly heard by the multitudes that thronged the popular assembly and the theatre. As the sun goes down, the succession and play of colors, the gold, violet, and purple, that come over the landscape and linger on mountain slope and headland and the still surface of the neighboring deep, are wonderful and enchanting. Seen from the steps of the Parthenon, it is a spectacle that never loses its varied attraction, its matchless beauty and splendor; no painter could copy it; the colors of Claude and Titian are tame and dim in the comparison; even the magnificent verse of Byron, grand as it is, falls below the realities which the poet would fain describe: —

"Slow sinks, more lovely ere his race be run,
Along Morea's hills the setting sun;
Not, as in Northern climes, obscurely bright,
But one unclouded blaze of living light!
O'er the hushed deep the yellow beam he throws,
Gilds the green wave, that trembles as it glows.
On old Ægina's rock, and Idra's isle,
The god of gladness sheds his parting smile;
O'er his own regions, lingering, loves to shine,
Though there his altars are no more divine;
Descending fast, the mountain shadows kiss
Thy glorious gulf, unconquered Salamis!
Their azure arches, through the long expanse,
More deeply purpled, meet his mellowing glance;
And tenderest tints, along their summits driven,
Mark his gay course, and own the hues of heaven;
Till, darkly shaded from the land and deep,
Behind his Delphian cliff he sinks to sleep."

After the sun goes down, the beauty of the night is equally wonderful, but different. The unfathomable depth of the sky, — the ἄσπετος αἰθήρ of the ancients, — out of which the stars come, and through which the moon in her queenly majesty moves, filling the air with her soft lustre, and silvering over the silent mountains, the stately columns of the Olympian Zeus and the Acropolis, and the sparkling but hushed sea, — seems to take the soul out of all earthly conditions, and to wrap it in the legendary associations of a far-off, mythical, poetical antiquity, when Artemis came down from just such a sky to watch the sleeping Endymion.

The climate of Greece was and is remarkably healthy. Why should people sicken and die before their time, with such a sky bending lovingly over them, with such pleasant breezes from the mountains and the sea, with such a sun and such a moon? We know from the biographies of the ancients, that a large proportion of them lived to what we should call an extraordinary age. Isocrates relates, in his Panathenaicus, that he began that work when he was ninety-four years old; that when it was about half written, he was seized with a violent illness, from which he did not fairly recover until three years later; and that then, induced by the urgency of friends, who had read the completed portion, and who feared something might happen, he resumed and finished it at the age of ninety-seven. When, in the following year, the news of the disastrous battle of Chæroneia reached Athens, unable to bear the disappointment of the hopes he had placed in Philip of Macedon, he put an end to his life by starving himself. It is to him that Milton alludes in the lines,

> "That dishonest victory
> At Chæroneia, fatal to liberty,
> Killed with report that old man eloquent."

In the letter of Theophrastus, the friend and pupil of Aristotle, which he prefixes to his "Characters," he says to Polycles: "You know, my friend, that I have long been an attentive observer of human nature. I am now in the ninety-ninth

year of my age; and during the whole course of my life I have conversed familiarly with men of all classes and of various climes, nor have I neglected closely to watch the actions of individuals, — as well the bad as the good. With these qualifications, I have thought myself fitted for the task of describing those habitual peculiarities by which the manners of every one are distinguished." And then the vigorous centenarian proceeds to write one of the keenest and sprightliest books to be found in any language.

Gorgias, the rhetorican and sophist, lived to the age of one hundred and seven, and died with the characteristic expression on his lips, "Sleep is now beginning to lay me in the hands of his brother."

In our day, the instances of longevity are not, perhaps, so common, partly because the habits of life — especially in the matter of bathing — are not so healthful, and partly because the country is less cultivated than it was in ancient times, and is in some places, at some seasons of the year, malarious. Yet you often meet with hale and active men nearly as old as Isocrates when he finished the Panathenaicus, and sometimes we encounter a rival of Gorgias. A year ago I saw General Perrhæbos, who must be at least ninety, and who was said to be a hundred, standing among the crowd, and listening to an examination of a class of young ladies in Homer and Demosthenes, at six o'clock in the morning. In 1843, when the Constitutional Assembly met in Athens, they chose for their President Mr. Notaras, the deputy from Corinth, then one hundred and seven years old; and at the banquet given at the close of their constitutional labors, the President was the most jovial of the party. Whether this hearty old Corinthian is still living, I cannot say. I have myself conversed with a monk in the monastery of Mount Parnes, whose memory of events for the last twenty or thirty years is rather vague, but who recalls with distinctness the transactions of a period which goes back almost a quarter of the way to the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, in 1453. I think that these

facts show the great salubrity of the climate in Greece, — one important condition certainly for a free and prosperous development of social and political life.

The ancient Greeks were not only united by the bonds of a common nationality, in the broad sense of that word, but they were separated into minor nationalities, sometimes called races. As against the Barbarians, — and all who were not Greeks were Barbarians, — they held tenaciously to their distinguishing Hellenic honors. But among themselves, not only were they divided into Achaians, Æolians, Dorians, and Ionians, — each broadly discriminated from all the rest, — but each city claimed to be independent of every other, and clung passionately to its independent administration, under the name of *autonomy*. They had their amphictyonies, or unions, for special religious or festal purposes; they had their great national games, from which all who could not prove their pure Hellenic descent were rigidly excluded, and to which all of Hellenic descent, whether from Asia, Africa, Sicily, or Italy, were admitted; but they never had a central government, with a controlling political power over the members of an extended confederacy. They had temporary combinations, either of equals with equals, or of inferior states, under the headship of some prominent city. In the heroic times, the poetical legends picture to us the Greek kings from Thessaly to Ithaca joining their forces to avenge against the ancient city of Priam the piratical abduction of Helen, the most beautiful of women. They array themselves under the leadership of Agamemnon and Menelaus, sail with a mighty host across the Ægean, and, after a siege of nine long years, burn the offending capital to ashes. But this warlike enterprise in a common cause leads to no permanent union among the companions in arms. It only prepares the downfall of the royal houses, opens the way to political revolutions, substitutes new rulers for the old, and places the changing and agitated political societies of Greece on that career of progress which afterwards made her the teacher, not only of science, letters, and art, but of civic wis-

dom, and not only the illustrious teacher, but the example, the warning, the admonition of the world.

In a terse and vigorous passage of Aristotle's Politics, that wise man draws the distinction between the Asiatics and the Greeks with his usual firm hand, and touches upon the weakness as well as the strength of the latter. "The Asiatic nations," says he, "are intellectual, and skilful in art, but without force of mind; wherefore they continue ruled and enslaved. But the Hellenic race, occupying a middle position between the Northern regions and the Asiatic, participates in the qualities of both; for they are high-spirited and intellectual; wherefore they maintain their freedom, they have the best political institutions, and, could they be brought under one government, they might rule the world. And there are similar differences between the several tribes of the Greeks themselves; for some of them have a one-sided nature, while others are well blended and tempered to the exercise of both these forces. It is evident, then, that those who are to be well trained by the legislator to virtue must be both intellectual and high-spirited." In the same passage the philosopher speaks of the Northern races as being "full of spirit, but lacking in intelligence; wherefore they maintain their liberty, but are incapable of political organization, and cannot rule over their neighbors." To him, as he looked at the condition of the human race from Athens as a central point of observation, with the history of Asiatic despotism contrasted with the regulated liberty of the Hellenic people on the one side, and the lawless freedom of the tribes of the frozen North on the other, these were the three categories under which the nations of the earth ranged themselves.

As we look back upon the history of antiquity, we are, perhaps, inclined to think that the merits of the Greeks were limited to the production of exquisite models in literature and the arts. In studying Homer and the tragedians, we feel the transcendent excellence of their poets. When we come to Herodotus and Thucydides, the flowing and picturesque narrative

of the one, and the deep wisdom, condensed style, and powerful coloring of the other, impress us with the belief that historical exposition was their special gift. When we master the perfections of Demosthenes, and rise from his inspired page glowing with the emotions excited by the loftiness of his pure and patriotic spirit, we are apt to fancy that the genius of Hellas culminated in political eloquence. When we wander through the museums of Europe, and gaze upon the sculptured gods and godlike men of Greece, the Apollo, the Olympian Zeus, the Aphrodite, the Athene, the Demosthenes, the Pericles of the Vatican, or the matchless marbles from the Parthenon now collected in the British Museum, we scarcely resist the conviction that they must have been a race of artists, and nothing more, so high beyond the utmost reach of modern genius did the Hellenic masters rise in those marvels of beauty and grandeur which once adorned the city of Athens, and now give the laws of taste to the whole civilized world. When we follow Plato through the realms of speculative philosophy, and Aristotle over the immense sweep of his observation of nature and man, and consider how these sovereign intellects have borne absolute sway in the kingdoms of philosophy, from their day to the present, it seems to us that the mind of Greece must have exhausted itself in philosophical investigations and the construction of theories on God, man, and nature. But either of these impressions would be hasty. In these several ways the Hellenic genius made illustrious and ever-memorable achievements; but when we sum them all up into one superb whole of national deservings, they form only a part of what those ancients did towards the perfecting of human society. The Romans not only sent their sons to Greece for literary culture, they sent their senators to copy the Grecian laws. All the leading principles of Roman law had their origin in the legislation of Greece; so that Greece not only introduced the arts into Latium, but laid the foundation, by her legislative talent, at once subtile, profound, and practical, of the law of Europe and America.

With one or two exceptions, the city was the state; the constitution, πολιτεία, was the organization of the city, πόλις. Thebes was not the capital of Bœotia, though she was its most important city. The other towns of that province had their several constitutions, and never, except upon some strong compulsion, yielded the right of sovereignty — the power of forming alliances, of making war and concluding peace — to their ambitious neighbors. The political duty of the citizen was to the town of his birth or settlement. To the Platæan and the Thespian the Theban was politically an alien, and sometimes a deadly foe. Cities on opposite sides of a mountain, though acknowledging the common Hellenic tie, seldom considered themselves as belonging to the same country; their citizens were not fellow-countrymen; their institutions were not identical; when they met in battle array, they fought as any other enemies might have done, and the victorious party set up its trophy in the field. The Italian republics of the Middle Ages furnish a parallel in some points, but not a perfect one. The lines of separation among the Greeks were both geographical and ethnical; and sometimes ethnical affinities determined the character of political institutions.

This state of severance, combined with the intellectual activity of the race, led to an unexampled variety of political organizations. If every city had its constitution, it had also of necessity its constitution-makers and lawgivers; and the people who were to select the constitution-makers and to accept the laws were not likely to perform their functions silently. Discussion of all conceivable questions naturally and necessarily had free course; and every little community formed a circle, not of village politicians, as in our modern country towns, but of statesmen who had to deal with high questions of constitutional law and foreign policy. With our multiplying States, we imagine that we have a complicated system of governments, State and National; but our State Constitutions are essentially alike, that is, they are, as the United States Constitution requires they should be, all republican. But the Greek city or

state framed its fundamental law as it pleased, with no reference to a central tribunal, and no apprehension of a conflict with the constitution of the united country. In the historical times, the less powerful cities were distracted by factions; but these factions or parties did not turn upon the interpretation of the fundamental law; — they turned upon the question of having this or that form of government, — not as to whether one party or another should come in and wield the powers of government, while the other went out and became the opposition. It was a conflict of life and death between a tyranny or an oligarchy on the one side, and a democracy on the other; and the party which gained the upper hand sometimes exiled or put to death the opposing leaders. In one case, according to the striking expression of the Attic orators, the people — the demos — was overthrown; in the other, the people was restored. But under these three forms the variety of details was very great. Some notion of the wealth of political experiment, if not of experience, in Greece, may be drawn from the fact that the lost work of Aristotle, the Politeiai, contained an analysis of one hundred and fifty-eight constitutions of cities, besides several peculiar democratic, oligarchic, aristocratic, and tyrannic forms, and that fragments of fifty-two of these constitutional analyses are found in his extant writings.

LECTURE II.

CONSTITUTIONS OF THE HEROIC AGE. — SLAVERY.

At the close of my last Lecture, I alluded to the great number of political constitutions in which the experience of the Grecian commonwealths was embodied. The study of Homer gives us the outlines of what may be called the primitive or heroic constitutions, which seem everywhere to have been nearly identical, — the factors constituting the state having been an hereditary king, a class of nobles or counsellors, the common people, who, though having nothing to do, strictly speaking, with government, yet sometimes made their voices heard and respected by their princes, and were beaten or otherwise maltreated if they ventured too far beyond the limits, and the slaves. The royal constitutions gave way to the progress of political ideas or to violent revolutions; — in some places leaving the name *king* as the only memorial of their existence, as in the King Archon of Athens; in others, as in Sparta, still attaching more substantial prerogatives to the name. The nobles, as a distinct order, lasted longer, either with real influence as aristocracies or oligarchies, or with only the influence of public opinion in favor of the high-born and the long-descended, as in the case of the Eupatridæ.

The scene in the Iliad, when, in order to test the feeling of the army, Agamemnon proposes to return to Greece, leaving the war unfinished, probably presents a good picture of the mutual relations of king, nobles, and people in that age. The people are summoned to the assembly, Rumor moving about among them as they swarm along the shore. Nine heralds keep them in order. Agamemnon rises, sceptre in hand, and,

having recounted the mishaps of the war, proposes, hard as it is, to go home. No sooner is this said than the people who hear the speech are stirred with a mighty desire to behold again their native land. The assembly is moved like the waves of the Icarian Sea, stirred by Eurus and Notus; they shout to one another; they rush to the ships and begin to launch them; and their cries rise to heaven. But this is not exactly what the king wishes; they have been too prompt to take him at his word; and forthwith Ulysses, instigated by the blue-eyed Athene, throws his cloak aside, takes Agamemnon's sceptre, and hastens to the ships. There, meeting nobles and leaders, he addresses them politely, and intimates that Agamemnon did not mean exactly what he had said, and that it is not for such men as them to play the coward. But whatever man of the people he finds clamoring, he smites him with the sceptre, and rebukes him with speech, the blow coming first and the word afterwards, and the word quite as hard as the blow. "Sit down, sir, and listen to your betters. You are of no account in war nor in council. We cannot all be kings here; the rule of many is not good. Let there be one ruler, one king, to whom the son of Saturn has given the sceptre to rule therewith." And they meekly submit. We cannot help admiring the truly wonderful originality with which Homer has wrought this scene; the unsuccessful trial of the sentiment of his people by Agamemnon; the readiness with which they take his word; the aristocratic demeanor with which Ulysses discriminates between the common man and the lord, when he quells the tumult; the meekness with which the men submit to the royal interpretation of their liberty, namely, the liberty of doing exactly what they please, provided they please to do exactly what the king desires. Still, the germs of freedom are quite discernible even here. The people, easily scourged back to the field of war, which, for a brief moment, they dreamed they were to quit forever, have at least had the privilege of showing what they wish; one day they will take the reins into their own hands, and will have their turn at applying the scourge.

In speaking of the constitutions of the Greeks, and the bodies that made up the state, we everywhere encounter the frightful anomaly of human slavery. There was a tradition that, in the primitive age, the soil of Hellas was free from this curse; and in historical times the inhabitants of some of the inland districts — as the Locrians — still lived in such simplicity that they employed no slaves. But from the earliest dawn of historical light, slavery was the rule, the absence of it the exception, in the Grecian states. Homer, true to humanity and to nature in this as in every other aspect of life, while taking the fact as he saw it everywhere around him, did not fail to mark its character in two memorable lines, which Plato misquotes in his Laws: —

> "Zeus takes from man one half his worth away
> When on him falls the day of slavery."

And in that wonderfully pathetic scene, never surpassed even by Shakespeare, — the parting of Hector and Andromache, — the firm soul of the hero, over whom the shadows of impending fate are closing, is shaken only by the vision of his country's downfall, and of the wife of his bosom dragged into pitiless slavery. Similar feelings are expressed in the Attic tragedies. The sorrows of Tecmessa reach the Homeric strain; and the frantic soul of Cassandra, as she approaches the house of death, struggles in vain with the woe of captivity, enhanced by the ghastly prophecies of murder destined to stain anew the dwelling over which hovers the boding troop of the Furies. Everywhere captivity and slavery go hand in hand. Both are taken for granted as the fixed order of human society. The prisoner of war is reduced to slavery; the inhabitant of the conquered city is sold into slavery; the woman and child, kidnapped by the roaming mariner of the Mediterranean, are borne off to a distant island or city, and bartered away for corn or wine, never to return to their native land. Even the Greeks of those early days, free as they were from most of the Oriental vices, had retained or adopted the commerce in human beings, and that most dangerous of all the self-indulgences of the Asiatic world,

the habit of living on the unpaid work of those less fortunate and gifted, whom an unequal destiny had placed in their power. Even in that early age the trade in slaves flourished all around the Ægean Sea, and the houses of the wealthy were crowded with the victims of violence, theft, and treachery. They tilled the ground, and took care of the cattle. Eumæus, the godlike swineherd of the Odyssey, and the faithful friend of Ulysses, is a slave. Telemachus speaks of the slaves that his father has left in his charge. When prisoners were made, they were divided among the chiefs, like other articles of plunder. Thus Agamemnon received Chryseis, and Achilles the captive Briseis; and many of the Trojans, some even of royal birth, had been transported to the islands and sold before the war was over.

It is singular how little this status changed, while all the other constituent elements of the commonwealth were constantly undergoing modifications. The kings went down; but the slaves remained. The tyrants rose on the ruin of the old heroic monarchies; but the slaves remained. Republics came into being, ran their brilliant career, and sank under the Macedonian or Roman supremacy; but the slaves still remained. The Roman Empire fell in the West, and the Byzantine, ten centuries later, in the East; but the slaves still remained, the one permanent and indestructible order in the state.

Though existing everywhere, and everywhere substantially the same, the condition of the slave varied in details in the several states, partly according to the other political institutions, and partly according to the race of the masters. In the Homeric and heroic ages, it is probable that the servile population were in much the same position all over Greece, and that the difference between the slave and the poor freeman was less than it was afterward. But when the distinctive peculiarities of the Dorian, Æolian, and Ionian divisions of the Hellenic people came prominently out, manifesting themselves in political tendencies, in literary culture, in forms of art, and in dialectic variations from the old Homeric speech, then the

relation between master and slave assumed a corresponding variety of aspects. The Dorians and the Ionians were most strongly contrasted in this regard, as they were generally in their political principles and their views of civil life. The Dorians were originally a rude and warlike race of mountaineers. They came down from their northern fastnesses, and, having conquered the old Achaian inhabitants, settled themselves in the most important portions of the Peloponnesus. Tradition and poetry embodied these transactions under the name of the return of the Heracleidæ; and the ruling families of the Spartans, which became in time the most conspicuous and powerful representatives of the Dorian race, claimed to be the direct descendants of the doughty hero Hercules. The Dorian, under influences all of which cannot be traced, became in Sparta a most singular specimen of humanity. According to him, the chief end of man was to live on black broth at home, to march about in heavy armor, to fight with or without cause, to beat or kill the Helots, and to die on the field of battle. The Dorian, entertaining such views, regarded all occupations except governing and fighting as menial. Tilling the earth, the mechanic arts, and commerce were disreputable, and fit to be conducted only by a servile race. Slaves, therefore, he must have; and the system which he organized, and for a long time pitilessly carried out, — the system of Helotism, — was the most logical, the most cruel, the most fatal in the end, that ever blighted a civil community.

Sparta produced many noble men, who signalized their country and immortalized themselves by great deeds. Many pithy sayings have come down to us, showing the concentrated force and resistless point of the Laconic style of expression. But the Spartan constitution, especially as modified by Lycurgus, was a terrible outrage upon human nature; and human nature avenged itself at last. Sparta perished, as an ancient writer says, for want of Spartans; and, as Thucydides predicted would be the case, the traveller at the present day, wandering among the scanty traces of the ancient city, finds it

difficult to believe in the greatness of her former power. Spartan virtue is an oft-repeated phrase. The Spartans were brave and hardy. They were men of iron, and tried their best to make their women women of iron. They taught their children that the state was all in all, the citizen nothing. They brought them up in a socialist community; they inculcated craft and deception; they exposed the sickly child on Mount Taygetus, after a jury of public nurses had pronounced it too weakly to be reared for the purposes of the state.

The Helots were the original Achaian inhabitants of Southern Laconia, subdued in war, and made the serfs of their conquerors. The name refers to this circumstance, — being derived either from the verb that means to capture, or from a local name, *Helos*, the inhabitants of which made desperate fight before they surrendered. I am inclined to the former explanation, as more in accordance with Grecian usage. After the Spartans had conquered their neighbors, the Messenians, they included them also among the Helots; and they continued enslaved until Epaminondas restored them to liberty and their country, after the battle of Leuctra. The Helots had the doubtful privilege of belonging to the state, while their services only were granted to individuals. They cultivated the land to which they were attached, paying their masters a certain rent in a fixed proportion of the fruits of the earth; they were domestic slaves; they waited on the public tables; they accompanied the Spartan soldiers to the field; and sometimes, when they showed distinguished bravery, or rendered great services to the army, they were emancipated. These circumstances present the bright side of the picture. On the other hand, the general cruelty of their treatment, and the implacable hatred they cherished towards their masters, are too well attested to admit of a doubt. They were flogged for no fault, but to keep their spirits down, and to remind them that they were slaves. Those who showed abilities or high qualities of character, which might be an element of danger to the

state, were ruthlessly slain; and if the master failed in his duty to put out of the way a slave of this description, he was exposed to a legal penalty. They were made drunk for the amusement or warning of the young. By an established usage, called *crypteia*, when the masters had reason to apprehend an outbreak from the increase of the servile class, or from some crisis in public affairs that might tempt them to insurrection, the ephors selected a certain number of the young Spartans, put arms into their hands, and sent them out on a hidden mission to slay, wherever they encountered them, as many of the doomed bondsmen as they pleased. This was not only a measure of state security, but a school of martial training for the future warrior. I do not believe that this proceeding was often resorted to. Nothing but the panic of a servile insurrection could have drawn even Spartans into a measure at once so cowardly and so barbarous. But the fact that such assassinations took place under such circumstances must stand, I am afraid, as a dark blot on the pages of Spartan history.

If we pass over to Athens, we encounter slavery again as one of the fundamental institutions of the state; but, as I have already intimated, with somewhat mitigated rigor. Athenian society was a more natural, cheerful, humane mode of existence than the Spartan. Art, letters, and industry in various forms were held in honor there. Solon, the great lawgiver and the founder of the democracy, had been engaged in trade, which he adorned with philosophy and poetry. He was not a mere theorist, nor a merely practical man; but his practice was enlightened by general principles, and his general principles were guided, modified, and controlled in their application by practice. In his constitution property had great weight, — property qualifications determining the citizen's share in the power of the state and his eligibility to office. His institutions thus brought industrial and commercial pursuits to something near a level with patrician birth and hereditary wealth in political influence and social estimation. The Athenian citizen, therefore, was not taught to regard all labor as servile. I do not mean

to say that there was not, even among the Athenians, too large a leaven of the old contempt for the work of the hands; yet the tendency was to a liberal feeling upon this subject. The Athenian was fond of country life, and often not only took the oversight of his fields and his gardens, but labored hard among his slaves with his own hands, while his wife apportioned the domestic tasks to her maidens, and taught them how to do the work, which, if needful, she could well perform herself. The picture which Xenophon gives us in the Œconomicus, of the household arrangements of Ischomachus and his young bride, is a charming representation of domestic life among the middle classes of the Athenian citizens.

It was no uncommon thing for men engaged in the mechanic arts to exercise influence in public affairs, either by their native talents or their acquired wealth; and sometimes coarse and vulgar men, by the mere force of impudence, gained an ascendency which overmatched the sway of historical names and aristocratic birth. But with all these popular tendencies, the ancient, time-honored institution of slavery was assumed as a necessity, and taken for granted, by statesmen and philosophers alike. We know more of the condition of the slaves in Attica than elsewhere, because we know more of Athens generally than of any other commonwealth in Greece, through the immortal records of her literature. Boeckh estimates the entire population of Attica at about five hundred thousand, of whom three fourths were slaves. According to Aristotle, the neighboring island of Ægina, which now has a population of only a few hundred, contained, at the period of its greatest power, four hundred and seventy thousand slaves. The slaves were partly private and partly public property, partly prisoners of war and partly bought in the slave marts. Some were imported from Thessaly, but the largest portion from Asia Minor, through the intermediate agency of factors among the Greek cities of the coast or the Ægean islands. Chios, which boasted to be the birthplace of Homer, early enjoyed the bad eminence of being the greatest slave-market in the

Grecian world, and of making the largest profit from the sale of human beings. Another class of slaves consisted of those who were born in servitude, and inherited their parents' condition. The possession of a black, that is, an African slave, was a fashionable distinction. Theophrastus, the friend and pupil of Aristotle, — in one of the admirable series of Characters which has come down to us from the wreck of his works, — mentions among the characteristics of the vain man that "he takes vast pains to be provided with a black servant, who always attends him in public." With showy ladies it was also a point of rivalry to have negro slaves in their train. But, in general, the slaves belonged to the Northern and the Asiatic nations, styled by the Greeks Barbarians. They considered it a settled point, that Hellenes might rightfully enslave Barbarians.

The numbers owned by rich Athenians were sometimes very great. The poorest citizen had at least one slave to assist him in his labors. In the houses of those of larger means, in the city, slaves were employed in every kind of service, — grinding (their business from the days of Homer), baking, cooking, marketing, making clothes, and attending upon their masters and mistresses when they appeared abroad. Three such attendants, at least, were necessary to a stylish appearance; and many more were frequently to be seen in the train of a wealthy citizen. They were employed in all sorts of trades and handicrafts, sometimes under the owner's eye, sometimes under the charge of an overseer, — as in the case of Nicias, who paid a salary of a talent to the superintendent of his men in the mines. The father of Demosthenes — a substantial citizen of the industrial class — carried on the manufacture of cutlery and bedsteads with a gang of more than fifty slaves, who constituted a large part of his estate at his death. The trading vessels of Athenian commerce were generally manned by slaves, and frequently they were mingled with freemen in the crews of vessels of war; but they did not, like the Helots of Sparta, serve in the army. Of the public slaves, some were employed in the service of the courts, having been qualified at the public charge for the

duties of their respective places. A kind of city-guard, or police, called bowmen, or Scythians, consisted also of slaves, to the number of three hundred at first, and afterwards twelve hundred. One of their duties was to keep order at the public meetings, and to remove unruly persons when directed to do so by the presiding officers.

The slaves of the private citizen were absolutely the property of their master. Their earnings were his revenue. They were subject to his will, and the victims of his caprice. They could be given in pledge like any other property. They could be scourged with impunity. Their testimony was not taken on oath, but only under torture. It seems most strange that this hideous abuse should ever have grown up, I will not say among a civilized people, but among those who had the smallest conceivable endowment of common sense. Yet the melancholy truth is, that not only did Pagan antiquity adhere to the belief that torture was the sole means of obtaining the truth from servile witnesses, but Christian nations, down to a comparatively late period, were under the same horrible delusion. Generally speaking, the administration of justice was conducted on humane principles among the Athenians; but the courts admitted this absurd anomaly, and the orators, apparently without suspecting its fallacy or its cruelty, constantly allude to it, or offer it in evidence, or challenge it from their opponents. How often it was practised we cannot tell; but every slave was liable to be put to the question, on the offer of his master or the demand of his master's opponent, whenever a litigation arose between them.

On the other hand, the slave at Athens enjoyed the protection of the laws in some important respects. He could not be put to death without the commission of crime, and the sentence of a legal tribunal. No man could strike or maletreat him, without rendering himself liable to an action. If he had a cruel master, he could seek asylum in the temple of Theseus, and demand to be sold; so that Demosthenes justly boasts of the superior humanity of the Attic law in its treatment of

slaves. When manumitted, — as they might be, and frequently were without any formality, — the slaves took rank with resident aliens, but were not entirely released from obligations to their former masters, who sustained the relation of patrons towards them, — a relation involving certain reciprocal duties, regulated by law. Yet notwithstanding the alleviations of the servile lot at Athens, its victims were not satisfied. The slave — the "animated instrument," as Aristotle calls him — frequently made his escape; and the master, if he chose to pursue him, could either capture the fugitive, or recover him by offering a reward. I find nowhere a treaty or agreement to send back fugitive slaves, though there may have been such; nor do I find any class of persons mentioned, like the Fugitivarii of the Romans, who employed themselves in recovering them; nor do I find any trace of a law forbidding the affording them shelter, until Greece became a part of the Roman empire. The truth is, I believe, that the laws on slavery among the Greeks were never systematically organized; certainly not as between the different cities. In the only allusion I remember to the runaway, in Greek literature, the master avows his purpose of pursuing him himself. If the slave ran away, the owner had to run too, if he wanted to catch him, or else to pay some one the σῶστρον for bringing him back. But it is probable that the fugitive to another city would have had no protection in the laws or sentiments of the people there; and that the owner or his agent might lay hands upon his "animated instrument," without the slightest opposition from those who had animated instruments of their own at home.

I need not add, that, as the Athenian slave was his master's property, he could be sold like any other species of property in Athens; that one division of the Agora was appropriated to this traffic; and that the article to be sold was obliged to mount a stone block, to show himself to the purchaser, and to undergo any amount of manipulation the customer might require to satisfy himself as to the quality of the merchandise. Hence the well-known phrase, *to be sold from the stone.*

I have already alluded to the sources from which the Greeks procured their slaves. The general doctrine was, that captives in war and barbarians might rightfully be reduced to servitude; — captives in war, because the captor has a right to the life of his enemy, and, for stronger reasons, to his services; barbarians, because, they being inferiors, and it being a law of nature that inferiors shall serve their superiors, bondage is their natural condition. The doctrine with regard to captives was modified by the introduction of the principle and usage of ransom into the laws of war among the Grecian states. To dismiss prisoners without a ransom was a rare act of humanity. Among the noble deeds of Demosthenes, none deserve a higher praise than his frequent charity in ransoming from captivity countrymen who were too poor to ransom themselves. This rule, however, was often set aside. The inhabitants of cities taken after a long siege were not seldom sold in a body. I am sorry to say that the history of Athens is blackened by more than one transaction of this sort; and when the Athenians themselves met with disaster in the wild invasion of Sicily, the survivors of their defeated army expiated the national crime by laboring in the quarries under the blazing sun of noonday, or perishing by the nightly dew and frost. A few owed a milder fate to the verses of Euripides, which they had learned by hearing his plays in happier hours at the Dionysiac Theatre, and now softened the animosity of their captors by repeating. Strange contradictions of the Hellenic character, — one day to condemn to hopeless servitude and cruel task-work men of the same lineage with themselves, and the next day to set the captives free for a mere song!

Other examples — examples of individuals — are still more striking. Diogenes the Cynic was taken by pirates, and carried to Crete, where, being offered for sale, just as the auctioneer was about to call for bids the captive shouted out, "Who wishes to buy a master?" He was bought by a Corinthian gentleman, Xeniades, over whom he acquired such influence that he gave him his freedom, and intrusted to him the edu-

cation of his children. When afterwards he had a slave of his own, and the slave, not fancying the service of a master who lived in a tub, ran away, Diogenes shrugged his shoulders, and said, "If he can do without Diogenes, Diogenes can do without him," — a very sensible comment, and the best way of disposing of the whole matter. Perhaps the personal experience of the philosopher made him reluctant to undertake the pursuit. A still more remarkable case is that of Plato. In one of his visits to Sicily, he was invited by Dionysius, the tyrant, to an interview. The philosopher rather romantically ventured to preach liberalism to the despot, who answered, uncivilly enough, "Your words are the words of a dotard," — to which Plato replied, "And yours are the words of a tyrant." The tyrant had the advantage in power, though the philosopher was the stronger in argument. In a rage, Dionysius handed him over to Pollis, a Lacedæmonian ambassador, who took him to Ægina and sold him as a slave; though what use could be made of him in that capacity it is not easy to divine. He was rescued from this condition by Anniceris, a philosophic friend, whose acquaintance he had made at Cyrene, and who paid for him twenty or thirty minæ, that is, about twenty or thirty times the price of a common slave, but only about one third of the price of a superintendent of the mines. On his return to Athens, his fellow-citizens sent the money to Anniceris, who refused to receive it, saying, "The Athenians are not the only people in the world who have a right to esteem Plato." The money was afterwards laid out in purchasing the grounds of the Academy, about a mile and a half out of the city of Athens on the north, — the spot which his genius made forever illustrious, — the spot which Cicero, on his way to Athens, turned aside to visit before entering the gates of the city, — the spot on which every scholar treads with indescribable emotion, as he wanders among the olive-groves, which still, as of old, are watered by the rills of the Cephissus. That piece of ground, whose name is clothed with the noble associations of the highest philosophy, was secured to immortal

fame for the price affixed by his owner to the great founder of the Academy — as a slave.

It was not, therefore, exclusively barbarians who, in polished Greece and in the best days of Athenian letters and art, were subjected to the lot of servitude. Of course, the condition in which a large majority of the population were found, and into which any one might fall, could not fail to be considered by thoughtful minds. How was it regarded by them? I have already shown that its necessity seems to have been admitted, almost without an exception. Homer, whose language is so pathetic in describing its woes, does not appear to have conceived a remedy; and in delineating its evils, his sympathy is limited to the condition of those who fall from high estate, by the cruel chances of war, into the slavery of captivity. It was Hecuba, it was Andromache, — royal ladies, — whose unequalled woes drew tears from Ionian assemblies, as the rhapsodist chanted the undying tale. As for the common lot of the serf tilling the ground, or the maiden grinding at the mill, — that was too much a matter of course, too fixed and permanent a form of life, to wake the song of the epic muse. Tragedy, like the epic, dealt in stately numbers with the sorrows of the great, the crimes of kings, and doomed heroic houses. The slave is the scarcely noticed attendant, — the messenger, the armed retainer, or here and there the son or daughter of a princely race, wearing the unworthy weeds of a degraded lot; and it was these whose sorrows, told in the verse of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, drew tears from the spectators. It was again Andromache, Polyxena, Cassandra, Hecuba. Here the sentiment which touched the popular heart was Cassandra's, "The inspiration remains, even in the mind enslaved"; or that of Sophocles, "If the body is enslaved, the mind is free"; or of Euripides, "To many slaves, there is the shameful name; while their minds have larger liberty than the minds of those who are not slaves": —

> "One thing alone dishonor brings on slaves,
> The name; in all things else the virtuous slave
> Is the equal of the free."

In the old comedy, which occupied itself with political relations and living characters, or with literary controversies and poetical rivalries, the slave appears as a standing and necessary figure, but plays a subordinate part. He is sometimes a joker or a buffoon; sometimes a character much like Sancho Panza. Xanthias, in "The Frogs" of Aristophanes, — the slave of Bacchus, and his companion in the descent to Hades, — is an amusing specimen of this class. Carion, in the "Plutus," is introduced as lamenting his unhappy lot, that, not being the owner of himself, he must needs follow a crack-brained master wherever he chooses to lead; and in the dialogue on the blessings procurable by wealth, his selection of favorite objects is quite in Sancho Panza's vein. In the later comedy, which was founded on the general observation of life, the slave comes forward much more prominently, and probably appears in the real character he bore as an element of Attic society. The poet of the later comedy was entangled by no theories. Admitting the fact as a necessary one, he was not, like the theoretical statesman, bound to justify it, nor did he care directly to condemn it. The general character of the slave — with some variety in the shading — is that of a good-natured rogue, often wittier than his master. He is wasteful, extravagant, a glutton, a wine-bibber, in spite of the laws that prohibited the drinking of wine to his rank, — a prohibition considered to be one of the hardest conditions of his lot. He lies to the most enormous extent, — why should he not? He is the pimp and pander to all the vices of the young. He has a boundless supply of jokes, — good, bad, and indifferent. He is without the slightest moral sense on any subject. In short, his animal appetites have the largest development; his moral qualities the smallest; while his intellectual faculties are sharpened, by the temptations of his position, for the successful performance of all sorts of petty rascalities. Sometimes he comes in as a cook, priding himself on a fine-flavored sauce of his own invention, or on the manner in which he has served up a tunny, or a mullet, or a Copaic eel. In one very amusing fragment, the

cook has a passion for quoting Homer, and drives his master, who cares more for dinner than for poetry, nearly out of his senses. In short, the slaves of the new comedy exhibit all the low humors, drolleries, and vices of common life in Athens. But on the other hand, the comic writer, true to all the aspects of Athenian life, was not blind to the fact of the essential humanity of the slave. As the tragedian said that the Divine inspiration remained in the mind enslaved, so the comic painter often gave expression to the natural, and therefore inextinguishable, feeling of the universal manhood of man. Says one of the characters in a fragment of Philemon:

> "Although a slave, his flesh is just the same;
> For none by nature e'er was born a slave:
> But chance it was the body that enslaved."

Says the slave in another fragment of the same author:

> "Although a slave, O master, none the less
> Is he a man, if he but be a man."

Menander, the masterly observer of human nature, the loss of whose works is the greatest loss that ancient literature has sustained, says:

> "The slave in all things learns to be a slave,
> And so a rogue; but give him liberty,
> 'T is that shall make him better than all else."

And again:

> "Serve like a freeman, — thou shalt be no slave."

LECTURE III.

PLATO AND ARISTOTLE ON SLAVERY. — SLAVERY AND CHRISTIANITY.

I HAVE given a rapid sketch of the institution of slavery among the Greeks, and of the way in which it was regarded by the people and represented by the poets. I should leave this part of my subject quite too imperfectly handled, if I did not trace, at least briefly, the speculative views expressed with regard to it by the leading Greek writers on political science. I shall limit myself to two, — Plato and Aristotle, — though the subject is touched upon, in a fragmentary manner or incidentally, by many others.

There are two works of Plato that have a special interest in this regard, — the "Republic" and the "Laws," — both belonging to the later period of his life. Of their general character I shall elsewhere speak; I refer to them now only in connection with this one subject. Plato was descended from the most illustrious families in Athens. Not only had his great natural genius been improved by the usual education of an Athenian gentleman, but he had travelled largely, and had enjoyed the benefits of an extensive acquaintance with the most eminent personages — political and literary — in other countries. I have already alluded to one of the incidents of his years of travel which was not altogether agreeable. Returning to Athens, he began to teach about B. C. 389, and remained there, with the exception of the time spent in two visits to Sicily, until his death, B. C. 347, — more than forty years. In his teachings, as was customary with the Greek philosophers, he connected theology, philosophy, ethics, and

politics, regarding these sciences as having the most intimate mutual relations.

Plato did not approve of the Athenian democracy. The instability and violence which occasionally disturbed his philosophic serenity, the imperfections in the administration of justice, and, especially, the judicial murder of his friend and master, — the purest and wisest man of the ancient world, whose name has acquired a saintly character in the best judgment of succeeding ages, — thrust themselves upon his attention, and made him look elsewhere for a model commonwealth. I think that his experience with Dionysius could not have made him in love with despotism. Indeed, the searching exposure of the wickedness and misery belonging to the condition of the tyrant, which we find in that admirable dialogue, the Gorgias, perhaps owes some of its point and power to personal recollections. Tyranny and democracy were, therefore, out of the question. There remained the Spartan form of government and the institutions of Lycurgus, for which it is evident that Plato had a theoretical preference. The characteristics of those institutions which attracted his interest were the apparent order and system with which every class in the state performed its functions, and every individual filled his allotted place. What he would have thought of them had he lived near Sparta, — had the Academy been on the banks of the Eurotas, instead of the Cephissus, — it is not easy to conjecture; but it is one thing to admire the working of a machine at a safe distance, and quite another to have an arm or a leg caught in a band or crushed between the wheels. The evils of the Athenian democracy were near at hand, and real; the evils of the Spartan Constitution were at a distance; while the discipline and regularity were obvious to every beholder, and made themselves felt in every martial enterprise. At all events, the polity delineated in Plato's ideal commonwealth has much more of the Spartan than of the Athenian spirit in it. Did the illustrious author incorporate in it either the Helot system of Sparta, or the milder system of Athenian

bondage? Of the general merits of the work I have nothing to say now; I wish only to show how the sage of the Academy disposed of an institution universal in the Grecian world, when, framing a purely ideal republic, — such a one as he conceived to be the best organization of society, could society be made over again, — he had everything in his own way.

For some reason, he does not introduce slavery here under its own name; but he founds his scheme upon the analogy between the individual man and the state, — the perfect man and the perfect state. The parts of the ideal republic are, first, the *βουλευτικόν*, the *counselling* order; secondly, the *ἐπικουρικόν*, the *supporting* order; and, thirdly, the *χρηματιστικόν*, or the order *devoted to gain;* — that is, the three orders constituting the state are to be counsellors, whose business it is to meditate and decide on what is for the good of the whole; guards, or defenders, whose function it is to maintain and protect the state with military power; and workers, whose duty it is to furnish by their labors the means of living to all. The first class — the men of intellect — are to govern the state; the second, the men of courage, are to defend it; of the third, those who have neither intellect nor courage, but only the lowest qualities, — the mere multitude, the men fit for nothing but physical labor, — are to cultivate the earth and to practise the handicrafts; those whose physical powers are least adequate to these tasks are to sit in the market-place, and carry on the system of trade; while another division are to engage in commerce of a larger kind by land and by sea. From the products of these branches of labor, the governors and protectors are to be supported. It is for the good of the state that these classes should be perpetually distinct, and that their several functions should become a part of their nature, transmissible by descent. Especially are the members of the lowest class to be forever separated from the governing and protecting classes. Yet the possession of the qualities that fit men for these several positions is an indispensable requisite to their continuing to hold them; but he supposed that in most cases the

means employed would secure the permanent possession of them. Sometimes it might happen otherwise. In the course of generations, one of the governing order might fall below the qualifications for his condition, or one of the order of laborers might rise above the level of his. Then, what is to be done? "You, who are members of the state," says Plato, in the person of Socrates, "are all brethren, but the god who made you mingled gold at their birth in the composition of those who were to govern, and for this reason they are the most honorable; silver in those who are to protect and defend; iron and brass in the tillers of the earth, and other hand-laborers. As you are all of the same kith and kin, you will, for the most part, have offspring who will resemble yourselves. But sometimes silver may be born of gold, and gold of silver, and so of the other metals. God then commands the rulers first and foremost that they show themselves good guardians in nothing so much as in the care of offspring, and in observing what has been mingled in their souls. If their own children have a portion of brass or iron, they must by no means be moved by pity, but, assigning to them the rank belonging to their nature, thrust them out among the artisans or farmers; and if, on the other hand, one of these be born with gold or silver in his soul, they must duly honor him by raising him to the rank of warrior or ruler; since there is an oracle that the state shall perish when brass or iron shall govern or protect it."

There is something quite noticeable in this passage. 1. All the orders of the state are supposed to work harmoniously together. 2. Each member of every order is supposed to have his just rights meted out to him, — duties and rights being correlative. 3. All the members of all the orders of the state are addressed *as brethren*, — a remarkable expression. 4. The name and the system of slavery, as they existed in every Greek commonwealth, are excluded from this ideal state. From this circumstance it is fair to infer, as Wallon does, that Plato meant to say, that, if he could organize human society according to his views of a perfect commonwealth, he would exclude

slaves as property, but would accomplish the industrial objects secured to actual societies through that institution by the labor of a rigidly organized body of freemen, not fitted to take part in the functions of government, and possessing only the faculty of labor; yet not so absolutely fixed that any member of this order, showing natural aptitudes above his rank, might not ascend to the more elevated classes. But we cannot infer, I think, that Plato positively disapproved of the existing institution, or that he saw any really practicable mode of dispensing with it in existing Hellenic societies. I do not speak here of objections, both theoretical and practical, which would be fatal to Plato's republic, if looked upon as a serious plan for reforming political institutions. I am only drawing out from the philosopher his idea of what would be desirable, on this particular head, in a state of society which he could conceive of, but might never hope to realize.

In a striking passage of Book Fifth, one of the interlocutors in the dialogue says, in speaking of war and its ordinary results: "First, concerning enslavement, does it appear to you just that Greeks should enslave Greek cities? or that they should do their best even to prevent others from doing so, and accustom them to spare the Greek race, guarding it against being enslaved by the barbarians?" "Absolutely and entirely, it is best to spare them." "And not to possess Greek slaves themselves, and to advise the other Greeks so too?" "Certainly they would then turn more to the barbarians, and abstain from one another." Here the non-enslavement of Greeks is recommended, but rather from motives of prudence than from any fundamental objection to slavery as such. Wallon is mistaken in saying that Plato recognizes the natural injustice of this destiny.

We shall come nearer to Plato's views of the then existing state of things by examining his "Laws." In this work a system of institutions, conceivable as introduced into an actual state, which was to be reorganized after having been depopulated, is carefully unfolded. In speaking about household

arrangements, after some very admirable instructions for the formation of families, handing down the lamp of life to successive generations, and serving the gods according to the laws, the author takes up the subject of slavery at some length. "As to other matters," says he, "they are difficult neither to understand nor to procure; but the subject of slaves is wholly perplexing. . . . . The Helotism of the Lacedæmonians gives occasion to the greatest question and doubt, some maintaining that it is a good thing, and others that it is a very bad one. In other forms of slavery, the embarrassment is less. Now, looking at all this, what are we to do with regard to the possession of slaves? We should all agree that it is necessary to have slaves as kindly disposed and as good as possible; for many slaves have proved better than sons and brothers, and have saved the lives, property, and families of their masters. These things are told, as we know, of slaves. And, on the other hand, it is sometimes said that there is nothing healthy in the slavish soul, and that a man of sense must never trust one of the race. As the wisest of our poets has said, —

> 'Of half his mind far-seeing Zeus deprives
> The man on whom the day of slavery falls.'

With such different views, some place no trust in the race of slaves, and render their souls, not threefold, but many times more slavish, by scourging them with goads and lashes, as if they were wild beasts; and others treat them in just the opposite manner. Man is a creature not easily adapted to these distinctions of slave and freeman and master. The slave is indeed a troublesome possession, as has been proved many a time by facts, as in the frequent, even customary, revolts of the Messenians, and all the evils that happen in the case of cities possessing many slaves speaking one language. . . . . Considering all these facts, a man might well doubt what course it were best for him to take. Two devices alone remain, — to see that those who are expected to submit easily to servitude should as far as possible not be of the same country nor of the same

language; and next, to treat them well, and hold them in respect, not merely for their own sake, but for the good of the masters themselves. And the proper treatment of such persons is not to behave with insolence towards them, but to be more careful not to wrong them than not to wrong one's equals. For he shows strikingly that he truly and not fictitiously reverences justice, and really hates injustice, who commits no wrong upon those whom he can easily injure. He, then, who has no stain of injustice and unholiness with respect to the manners and conduct of slaves, will be the fittest to sow the seeds of virtue. And the same may be said of the despot, or the tyrant, or any one who exercises irresponsible power over those weaker than himself. Yet it is necessary to chastise slaves, and not to make them put on airs by admonishing them as if they were freemen. Every address to a slave should be almost a command. There should be no jesting with slaves, male or female, — a habit which some persons very foolishly like to indulge in, thus making it more difficult for their slaves to be governed, and for themselves to govern."

From this passage it is evident, first, that Plato accepted slavery as inevitable, very much on the principle of Metrodorus, — that it is an indispensably necessary institution, though a disagreeable necessity; secondly, that he, in common with his countrymen in general, felt the dangers of the institution in some of its forms; and thirdly, that he saw no practicable method of averting those dangers, except by devising measures to prevent an easy combination among the slaves, and training them by kindness and respect to identify their interests with those of their masters, and thus willingly to submit to the conditions of their lot. I find in Plato no traces of the idea that a general abolition of the system as established from the earliest times would be possible or desirable.

Aristotle was the disciple of Plato; but he differed from him in many respects, both as to philosophical and political views. He subjected existing facts to a searching scrutiny, and drew his principles from large inductions. He examined constitu-

tions, epic poems, and tragedies, as he did the soul of man, or the structure of a fish or a quadruped. His aim was to ascertain the central fact or principle, to lay out in order the constituent elements, and to determine the exact nature of things. Like Plato, he connected politics with ethics; but he maintained with more distinctness than Plato did, that it is the duty of the legislator to make the whole state happy, by combining the greatest possible number of advantages, whether external or intellectual. The best state is that in which the citizen can secure to himself the largest amount of happiness by the practice of virtue. He wrote two works, which deal with the subject before us; — the Politeiai, in which he examined the existing constitutions, and which is lost; and the Politica, in which he gives his own ideas of what a state should be, founding them, however, not, like Plato, upon an ideal conception, but upon the facts of political life, as developed in human societies. There is a third work, the Œconomica, which bears upon some parts of the general subject. One of the conclusions he draws is, that, in the best regulated state, the citizens who are to be just men, that is, men performing all the duties belonging to citizenship, must be free from all the cares of handicraft and trade, for a life devoted to such pursuits is unfavorable to virtue; nor should they be farmers, for leisure is an indispensable condition to the generation of virtue and to political activity. How is this leisure to be secured to the favored citizens? The state is founded upon the family; and the constituent elements of the family are man, woman, and slave. Without either element, social and political man ceases to exist, at least in his perfection. Here, then, is the germ of the system; and this germ is furnished by nature. The relation of the slave to the master is like the relation of the body to the soul, whence the slave is called a *body*, σῶμα; he is his master's body, but detached from him; the master is the master only of the slave, but is not his; the slave is not only the slave of his master, but is wholly his. The natural ruler and the natural subject must be united for their common

safety. That which can foresee by the intellect is the natural ruler and master; that which can render bodily service is the natural subject and slave; and man is by nature a political animal. There are some, he admits, who affirm that to be a master is against nature, — that the slave and the freeman exist by law, but differ in no respect by nature; wherefore the relation is not just, because it comes of violence. He merely states this opinion as a fact, without attempting a direct answer. In the economy of a family, instruments or organs are required; and of these there are two kinds, the inanimate and the animate, as to the pilot the rudder is the inanimate organ, and the man on the look-out the animate. The slave is an animate organ, and indeed the first of organs. But if every organ, either commanded or foreknowing, could perform its proper office, — as did the works of Dædalus, and the tripods of Hephæstus which the poet describes as moving of themselves into the assembly of the gods, — if the shuttle could thus weave and the quill could thus play the lyre, the architect would want no servants, the master would need no slaves. Thus we see the nature of the slave and his capacity. He who by nature is not his own, but another's, and is yet a man, — he is by nature a slave; and that man is another's, who is a piece of property, being a man. But whether there really is such a person by nature or not, whether it is better, whether it is just, that one should be slave of another, or whether all slavery is contrary to nature, admits of question.

To Aristotle slavery appears necessary, expedient, and founded on a principle of subordination running through all the orders of nature, so that some, from the hour of birth, are marked out for ruling, some for obeying. Those who are inferior to others, as the body is inferior to the soul, are slaves by nature, and it is for their good to be thus governed. Such persons are those whose function is the use of the body, and this is the best thing to be had of them. Nature intends to make the bodies of slaves and freemen different from each other; — the former strong, for necessary use; the latter erect,

useless for menial labors, but useful for civil life. Sometimes, however, the contrary happens. . . . . If this be true of the body, it is still more just to draw the distinction with respect to the soul, although it is not so easy to see the beauty of the soul as to see that of the body. Yet it is clear that some men are freemen by nature, and others are slaves, and to the latter slavery is beneficial and just.

Again, it is asked whether a slave can possess any virtues except the instrumental and servile, — any traits nobler than these, — such as temperance, fortitude, justice, and the like. This question brings the inquirer into difficulties which are very fairly stated by Aristotle. If they possess these virtues, wherein will they differ from freemen? Yet, as they are men, and participate in reason, it is absurd to suppose that they may not possess them.

Another puzzling question is, how far might makes right. Victory seems to imply some superior ability. Does it prove the justice of the cause? No one will say that the man who is undeservedly enslaved is a slave, (and he might have illustrated this proposition by the case of Plato). Men of the noblest families might happen to be slaves, and the descendants of slaves, if they or their ancestors have been taken prisoners of war and sold. But they are not slaves, — this name must be limited to those who are slaves by nature. Men of noble descent are not only so regarded in their own country, but everywhere. Thus Helen, in Theodectes, says: —

> "Who dares reproach me with the name of slave,
> When from immortal gods, on either side,
> I draw my lineage?"

Again, Aristotle concludes that some persons are slaves and others freemen by the ordinance of nature; and that there may exist a mutual utility and friendship between the master and the slave, when they are placed by nature in that relation to each other; while the contrary is the case with those who are reduced to slavery by custom or by conquest.

Our author then treats of the knowledge which a slave

ought to possess, inasmuch as one kind is suitable to the master and another to the slave. At Syracuse, he states, there was a person who, for a stipulated fee, instructed the boys in the routine of a household slave. The knowledge of the master is how properly to employ his slaves. Not that this knowledge contains anything great or lofty; but what a slave ought to know how to do, the master should know how to order. Those who have it in their power to be free from such toilsome matters employ a steward for this business, and apply themselves to public affairs or philosophy.

I must close this sketch of Aristotle's views on slavery by the substance of a passage in the Œconomica, — a brief treatise which contains much excellent matter upon the domestic relations. Here, as in the Politica, the necessity of having slaves is assumed. The conduct of the master towards them, it is said, should be such as not to render them insolent or negligent. He should make distinctions among them, according to their capacities and qualities, since, as other men grow worse when they gain nothing by being better, so is it with slaves. . . . . It is likewise requisite that to all things an end should be set; it is therefore both right and expedient that freedom should be held up to them as a reward; for they will be willing to labor when a prize and a definite time are proposed. It is right also to bind them as hostages by their families; and to appoint holidays and festivals more for their sake than for the free, since the free possess so much larger means of daily enjoyment.

I have thus endeavored to present to you, chiefly in his own language, the opinions of the most sagacious and learned writer of antiquity on the institution of slavery among the Greeks. The sum of the matter, according to him, is: — 1. Slavery is founded on natural distinctions; and it is necessary and useful for both master and slave. Yet practically it exists where no such distinction can be found; and how this contradiction between fact and theory is to be dealt with, he does not explain. 2. The slave, though an article of property, and

wholly his master's, is yet a man, and is to be treated with justice and kindness. 3. He is influenced by the same motives as affect other men, and therefore the highest excellence of character and conduct can be produced only by the highest motive. And what, according to Aristotle, is the highest motive that can be held up before him? Why, FREEDOM. But, if there be the sharp division between those who are naturally slaves and those who are naturally masters, which his theory implies, and which is the justification of slavery, how can the prospect of freedom be a legitimate motive to set before the man who was born to be a slave, and whose interests are bound up with the very existence of the relation? The truth is, that the institution was there as a long-established fact, to be examined like any other fact; but it had elements of perplexity which the acute, honest, and humane genius of Aristotle could not reconcile with many of the phenomena of human nature that he witnessed in Hellenic society, and he was obliged to leave the theory vitiated by contradictions, while he gave practical rules conformable to his own sense of justice, and inspired by his calm wisdom and serene humanity.

I expressed the opinion, in the first Lecture, that there is a coincidence between the spirit of Christianity and the best teachings of Greek philosophy. In my judgment, St. Paul on the Hill of Mars is the complement to Socrates in his prison, to Plato in the Academy, and to Aristotle in the Lyceum. The wisdom of the Hellenic sages is carried out and perfected, its shortcomings are made good, its partial truth is rounded and completed, by the deeper wisdom, the holier inspiration, the broader views of the great Christian masters, — the Apostles and early Fathers of the Church. The humane tendencies of Grecian philosophy became fundamental principles in the philosophy of the Son of God. The errors of the Academy and the Lyceum were corrected under the heavenly light of the Church. Plato maintained that God had made all the members of his ideal commonwealth brethren; Paul declared

that God had made the whole human race of one blood. Plato and Aristotle taught that the master should treat his slaves kindly; Paul taught Philemon, and through him every other Greek master, that he must receive the returning fugitive, "not now as a servant, but above a servant, a brother beloved," — receive him as he would Paul himself; promising at the same time, — a very significant fact, — that, if Philemon had suffered any loss through Onesimus, it was to be put to his Paul's, account, and he, Paul, would repay it.

On one most important point bearing upon the relation of master and servant, Christianity corrected an error of Greek philosophy. The Greeks regarded certain kinds of work as servile, requiring a servile class for their performance; yet more, as disgraceful, requiring therefore a dishonored, a contemptible class. But the Son of God took upon himself the humblest form, the lowliest offices, and thereby exalted all labor to a divine significance. "Come unto me," said he, "all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly of heart, and ye shall find rest unto your souls." The influence of the Beatitudes and of St. Paul's expositions of the Christian spirit on the tone of feeling in Greece, doubtless coincided with the national sentiment, and carried it forward in the same general direction which had been imparted to it by philosophy. It did not attack institutions in their outward forms; but it strengthened the noble and generous attributes of humanity within those forms. It assailed no established rights, and broke no laws; but it transmuted the violence with which those rights were sometimes enforced into gentleness and love. It recognized duties on both sides in legal relations; it sanctioned and justified no outrages on person or property, no encroachment even, no withholding of legal dues.

It cannot be said that these men adopted so mild a course because they feared the personal consequences of stronger measures. Champions of Divine truth, taking their lives in their hands, counting tortures and death as naught in the service of

their great Master, they made no compromise with principle, they sacrificed nothing to the world; but they dealt with all the relations of man to man in the way which they knew to be wise, and right, and in accordance with the law of God. The glimpses and intimations of truth which the Hellenic sages saw, on the subject we have been discussing, they brightened into the perfect day. They struck at the root of war, and of all other systems of violence; they overthrew the pretexts for international prejudice and wrong; they made all honest labor honorable; they thus dried up the sources from which the bitter stream of bondage flowed. They established principles which, in proportion as they were carried out in the ancient world, removed the evils which the philosophers saw and felt, and could only abate.

It is not in the nature of social life to undergo radical changes in a moment. Christianity had a struggle of centuries, before its outward triumphs raised it to high places in the world; and its struggle to gain an inward triumph over the evil passions of man will probably last as long as the earth shall endure. But the seed was sown; the plant grew and ripened here and there; and human life was refreshed by the Divine fruit. The Fathers of the Church faithfully proclaimed the doctrines of Christ and the Apostles upon the essential equality of man. Justin declared that the sons of freemen and the sons of slaves are ὁμότιμοι, — of equal honor. St. Basil, while admitting that the inferior should be under the guidance of the superior, yet maintains that there is no such thing among men as a slave by nature. St. Chrysostom is equally emphatic. All these teachers inculcate, indeed, the duties of order, obedience, and fidelity, on the slaves; but equally those of kindness, gentleness, respect for natural rights, and sympathy as for brethren in Christ, on the masters. Gregory of Nazianzus expressed himself in gnomic verse to the effect that tyranny, not nature, had divided the race of men; that every bad man is a slave, every good man is free. Gregory of Nyssa said, that the Divine seal set upon the brow of

our first parent was perpetuated down to his latest descendant as an ineffaceable mark, since man is in all ages the same being to that Supreme Power which has neither past nor future. These views the Fathers of the Church maintained under all circumstances; but they did not find it their duty to attack outward forms. The revolution they sought to effect was in the heart of man. Where the heart was right, all that it was desirable to have would soon follow. They held slaves themselves, because the ordinary service of a household could hardly be otherwise supplied. But while accepting the external relation, universal in those times, the Church acknowledged no real distinctions save in the qualities of the soul.

But human nature is not easily changed. The treatment of slaves was the frequent subject of the faithful rebukes of Chrysostom. "When you go to the theatre or the bath," says he, "you take with you a train of servants; but you make no such effort to bring them to the church, where they may hear the word. And how shall the slave hear, when the master is attended by him in another place?" The characters of the slaves, too, as drawn by the Christian Fathers, are much like the pictures given by the ancient poets; but the Christian father boldly states the causes, while the old poet or philosopher only hinted at them. Says St. Chrysostom: "It is a thing generally acknowledged, that slaves are lazy, rebellious, unmanageable, unfit to receive instruction in virtue, not by the vice of nature, — God forbid! — but by the negligence and misconduct of their masters in regard to them. . . . . As their masters require only service at their hands, they tolerate their disorders on this condition, and thus the slave falls into the depths of vice. If in spite of the active oversight of a father, a mother, a teacher, in spite of the influence of equals and of the sentiment of birth, we have such difficulty in avoiding the company of the wicked, how must it be with those who, deprived of all these supports, mingle with criminals, or with whom they please, no one caring what friendships they form? This is the reason why it is so hard for slaves to be good.

They receive no instruction abroad or at home; they have no intercourse with educated freemen, who attach a high value to public opinion. How then should not it be a wonderful thing to find a slave a good man?"

Once more, in a remarkable passage, touching upon the conclusion to which the doctrines of the Church were tending, the eloquent preacher says: "What need of so many slaves? As in other things, you should limit yourself to the necessary. And what is the necessity here? I do not see it. A master should content himself with a single slave; or rather, one slave should be enough for two or three masters. If this appears hard, think of those who have none, and are better served; for God has created us with the power to serve ourselves and others. If you doubt, listen to St. Paul: 'Mine own hands are sufficient to serve myself and others.' Thus this teacher of the world, worthy of heaven, was not ashamed to serve so many thousand men; and you would think yourself disgraced, unless you were followed by a train of slaves, ignorant that it is this which disgraces you. . . . . It is not necessity which has created the race of slaves; if it were, a slave would have been created with Adam,"—and much more to the same effect. I think that among the early Greek Fathers,—the able and eloquent men who preached the Gospel in Constantinople, Antioch, Ephesus, Alexandria, and Tarsus, —there was but one voice upon this subject.

As the Church became more thoroughly organized under the decrees of œcumenical councils, the subjects of human slavery, and the treatment of the enslaved, were constantly forced upon its attention; and everywhere the equality of men in Christ, and the brotherhood of the whole human race, were the central ideas embodied in decrees and ordinances whose object was to restrain the wanton excesses of irresponsible power, and to protect the bondsman. Down through the Middle Ages, during the long decline of the Greek race under the Byzantine empire, the relation still existed; and now again, as in the earlier classic ages, it was often the fate of the best-born and

most accomplished to be seized by freebooters, pirates, or roving adventurers on the Grecian seas, and carried into hopeless captivity. How often the shores of Greece were desolated by barbarians engaged in this merciless traffic, the terrible history of those centuries of gloom and darkness may tell us. The Church still spoke in the same voice, although ecclesiastics and monks were often the owners of bondsmen.

About the beginning of the ninth century, there died at Constantinople Theodorus Studita, abbot of the monastery of Studium in that city, who left, in the form of a testament for his successor, his confession of faith, and a series of practical directions, one of which thus reads: "Thou shalt not possess a slave, neither for thine own use, nor for the monastery, nor for the field, since he is a man made in the image of God. This, like marriage, is allowed only to the people of the world." I need not dwell upon these times; the picture is essentially the same through the ages of decline.

At length the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, in 1453, and the extension of their conquest over Greece in the three following years, reduced all alike to a barbarous servitude, some of the forms of which were more painful than any ancient bondage of the barbarian to the Greek. This general enslavement of the Hellenic race lasted almost four hundred years, — a long, bitter, and degrading lesson for those whose ancestors had been the teachers of the world. The yoke was heavy, the agonies of servitude entered their souls, and it seemed as if no hope could send its light into their prison-house. I need not recount the circumstances of their great deliverance, — the heroic deeds and dreadful sufferings through which they passed. It is enough to state one fact which has a bearing upon my subject, and is surely not discreditable to the Hellenic race. When the war of national liberty commenced in Greece, an assembly was called at Epidaurus, to draw up a declaration of independence, and to frame a provisional government. Among the earliest articles of the Constitution were one for the universal education of the people, and another

abolishing slavery forever. And when, in 1843, the deputies at Athens, ten years after the beginning of the reign of Otho, framed a new Constitution, they embodied in it both these principles, declaring that slavery shall never be allowed in the kingdom, and that the bondsman, of whatever race or nationality, becomes free the moment he sets his foot upon the soil of Greece. "In Greece, man is neither sold nor bought. The bondsman or slave, of every race and every religion, is free the moment he treads on Grecian soil." Thus this institution, which outdates Homer and the heroic age, — which occupied the thoughts of poets, philosophers, legislators, saints, and martyrs, from the beginning of political society and the dawn of speculative science, — under which the Greeks were sometimes masters, and sometimes slaves, — closed its melancholy but tenacious existence only in our day, after the most wonderful diversity of national experience, and with the direct influence of Christianity acting upon it for eighteen centuries.

LECTURE IV.

THE EARLY TYRANNIES. — THE SPARTAN CONSTITUTION.

In the heroic constitutions we trace the germs of the free and varied political forms in which the Grecian states abounded through the historical ages. Besides the head of the state, we uniformly find a body of counsellors and a popular assembly; and through all the forms of government, which gave Aristotle so large a field of investigation and such a copious collection of facts from which to draw his inductions, we find, in one shape or another, under one name or another, magistrates or counsellors and members of the popular body concurrently working to carry out, by legal enactment, the collective will of the people. In the colonies which were established in the period following the Trojan war, and for centuries afterward, the institutions of the mother cities — the μητροπόλεις — were copied, but with modifications to adapt them to the varied wants of colonial society. These colonies extended along the western and southern coasts of Asia Minor, and to the shores of the Euxine Sea; along the coasts of Thrace and Macedonia; over the Ægean Islands; to the west as far as Sicily; and over a large portion of Southern Italy, called from this circumstance Magna Græcia, — *Great* Greece, — as being more extensive than the mother country. The colonies on the coast of Asia Minor arranged themselves in geographical order, — the Æolian in the north, the Ionian in the centre, and the Dorian in the south, — each race maintaining its peculiarities of language and of political forms, though on this latter point our information is scanty. The colonies of Sicily were mostly Dorian; those of Italy, Dorian and Æolian. The Ionians of

Asia Minor were the first to excel in poetry and art. To them belongs the imperishable glory of Homer and epic poetry. The Æolians followed, and the lyrical school of Lesbos, and the impassioned strains of Sappho's muse, constituted their especial renown. The Dorians, as was to be expected of their peculiar genius, came last into the field of letters, though from early times they possessed a vigorous martial minstrelsy.

In some of the colonies the descendants of the old heroic families were leaders and founders. In others, new men came up from the people. In general there were many changes, and a new order of things arose. The states of which we have the best information are Sparta and Athens, — Sparta, the most conspicuous representative of the Dorian, and Athens, the crowning flower of the Ionian race. It is probable that the other Dorian and Ionian states framed their institutions generally upon the metropolitan models.

Among the most remarkable changes that succeeded the downfall of the heroic monarchies were the rise and establishment of what the Greeks called tyrannies. This word did not originally refer to the manner of exercising power, but to the nature of the office and the mode of gaining it. To the Greek mind, the source of power was the popular will; and the object of its exercise was the benefit of the body politic. From what has been said in previous Lectures, it will of course be understood that the servile classes enjoyed the benefit of these principles but imperfectly, if at all; and when we speak of the freedom which the constitutions of Greece generally developed, and the admirable results of the Greek polity, a large reservation on this head must always be made. We say, then, that the popular will was the source and the people's good was the aim of government in the Hellenic conception of civil society, whether under the Dorian or the Ionian system. Any government that established itself without the co-operation of these principles, and refused to acknowledge its accountability to the people, was, in the Greek

sense of the word, a tyranny, no matter how wisely or humanely it might be administered. When the old hereditary rule lost its hold upon men's minds, either by the disappearance of the royal families, by violent revolutions, or by progress in political ideas, a free opportunity was thrown open for bold and aspiring men, who could command the support of powerful parties by their wealth, or ingratiate themselves by an insinuating address, to usurp the places once held by the champions of the Trojan war or their descendants. These men often found, in the confusion of changing institutions, no great difficulty in accomplishing their purposes; and sometimes they secured their families in power for several generations. Their period commences in the seventh century before Christ, and continues about two hundred years. They were, therefore, contemporaneous, or nearly so, with the great legislators, who stand as the impersonations of the legal, as contrasted with the tyrannical principle.

The oldest tyranny was that established at Sicyon, by Orthagoras, said to have been originally a cook. His descendants — the Orthagoridæ — governed the city for about a hundred years; and their rule is praised by Aristotle for its mildness. It ended with Cleisthenes, whose daughter, Agariste, married Megacles the Athenian, and became the mother of the Cleisthenes so distinguished as a popular leader in Athens. In the third century before Christ, Sicyon became again subject to a tyranny. In the seventh century B. C., the ancient house of the Bacchiadæ — the kings of Corinth — was overthrown by Cypselus. This prince belonged, by his mother's side only, to the old Doric nobility of Corinth. An oracle had declared that he would be dangerous to the reigning family; and his life being threatened, he was saved by being concealed in a chest, from which circumstance he received his name. This chest was a splendid work of art, and an heirloom in the family, who afterwards consecrated it at Olympia. Pausanias saw it there eight hundred years later, and has given a minute description of it. Cypselus was succeeded by his son Periander, an able

ruler and a patron of literature. The family of the Cypselidæ remained in power about eighty years. Similar tyrannies were established in Epidaurus, Megara, Pisa, Phlius, Chalcis, also in some of the cities of Asia Minor, and in Samos, of whose tyrants Polycrates was the most renowned. At Athens, a tyranny, under Peisistratus, followed the legislation of Solon, and lasted, with intervals, until the expulsion of Hippias. The tyranny in Sicily was the longest and the most successful, beginning with Phalaris of Agrigentum, and continuing through the reigns of the Syracusan kings.

The tyrants sometimes rose to power by the aid of the people, who preferred one ruler to the oppressions of the nobles. Sometimes they gathered around themselves a body of foreign mercenaries, and seized the power by force. The nature of their government depended in both cases on the personal character of the tyrant. Many of them were enlightened men, who collected poets and philosophers at their courts, and swayed the sceptre with mildness and clemency. But arbitrary and irresponsible power was not in harmony with the genius of the Hellenic people, and the dignity and splendor of the courts of most of these princes were short-lived. They fill, however, a remarkable chapter in the history of Greece.

The earliest legislation appears to have been that of Crete; but in the mass of fable and the embellishments of poetry, of which that beautiful island was from the oldest times the centre, it is impossible to make out a clear and intelligible account of the Cretan system. There probably was a king named Minos. He was the first, according to Thucydides, to establish an important naval power, and to clear the Eastern seas of pirates. The tradition which traces Cretan institutions back to Minos may be accepted as historically true; and the Cretans would seem to have been of Dorian origin, by the resemblance of their laws to those of Lycurgus. Minos was so renowned for his justice, that he became, with Rhadamanthus, one of the judges of the lower world. The early kings of Crete were succeeded by boards of ten magistrates,

called Cosmioi, — chosen from certain families, — who, along with other functions, bore the chief command in war. A council or senate of thirty (γερουσία) held the supreme executive and judicial power, without written laws and free from accountability. The members of this body were taken from those Cosmioi who had honorably discharged the duties of their office. There was, according to Aristotle, an ecclesia or general assembly, in which all were allowed to participate; but this assembly had no other power than to sanction, without discussion, the decrees of the senators and Cosmioi. In the arrangements of private life, there was also a resemblance to those of Sparta. Agriculture and the industrial arts were despised, and left wholly to the servile classes. Youths and men lived at public tables, the expense of which was defrayed partly by the payment of one tenth of his income by each citizen, and partly by contributions from the government; and these contributions were drawn in part from the public lands, and in part from the revenues derived from the serfs. But the land was not equally divided among the citizens, as it ostensibly was in Sparta, nor was it inalienable. I suppose that these faint outlines are tolerably correct. The rhetoricians were fond of delineating the primitive felicity of the Cretans, and of contrasting the degeneracy of their own times with the purer morality of the Saturnian age; but, like all other primitive felicities, the Cretan pretensions on this score will hardly stand the scrutiny of investigation. At all events, in the later ages, the Cretans enjoyed no enviable reputation for personal morality or regard to truth. Their lying spirit became a byword and their licentiousness a scoff among the Greeks. St. Paul quotes a proverbial expression, which troubles the Cretans at the present day. "The Cretans are always liars," was said of them by a Greek poet, Callimachus of Cyrene, because they affirmed that the tomb of Zeus was in their island. I have heard an accomplished Cretan lady maintain that her ancestors were right; that Zeus was a man, raised by the ancient superstition to the rank of a god, and

that he really died and was buried in Crete, so that there was no lying — not even a mistake — about it.

The Spartans were the quintessence of the Dorians. Spartan institutions exhibit the Dorian political genius in all its strength and in all its weakness. The Spartan man was the Dorian man raised to the highest power. He had all the virtues of his race in their brightest form; and the faults of his race, that is, the faults generated by their training, in the fullest development.

Sparta stood on the right bank of the Eurotas, just below the ranges of Taygetus and Parnon, in a situation of great natural beauty. It was not surrounded with walls until the Macedonian age; it was however built, like most other ancient cities, round an acropolis. The plain of Sparta forms the heart of Laconia. It was originally inhabited by the Leleges; then it fell under the power of Achaian princes; and in the heroic age it was the capital of Menelaus, brother to Agamemnon, and of Helen, the most beautiful of women. Two generations later, the Dorian invasion dispossessed the Achaian kings, and the city became the portion of Eurysthenes and Procles, who claimed to be descended from Hercules. The names of thirty-one descendants of the former and twenty-seven of the latter are given, from the foundation of the Dorian government down to the last quarter of the third century before Christ, that is, till after the epoch of the Macedonian supremacy. The Dorian conquerors supplanted the old Achaian institutions by introducing the Dorian usages, under which they had been trained in their mountain homes; and it was upon this established order that the constitution of Lycurgus, or the system of rules and ordinances which passes under his name, was built up. It is very clear that Lycurgus did not construct *de novo* the institutions of Sparta. They existed long before his time, as Dorian institutions; and all that he did was to reform and reorganize them.

So much uncertainty exists, in the midst of the contradictory statements of the ancients, as to the personal history of

Lycurgus, that some sceptical investigators have rejected it altogether, and reduced him to a myth. This view, however, must be considered untenable; we must admit the actual existence of the lawgiver; we must admit the outlines of his character, and his claims as the reorganizer of the Spartan commonwealth; but at the same time we must accept it as at least a probable conclusion, that he was only a reformer, and not the creator of a new system. It is hardly necessary to say, that to impose on a people a constitution and forms of private life materially different from those to which they have been accustomed, is an impossible task. Institutions grow up as naturally as plants and animals. They may be modified under fitting influences, and by legislative skill; but they cannot be forced into existence without a radical connection with the ancient usages, laws, customs, and establishments of the people.

The period at which Lycurgus lived is wholly uncertain. Aristotle placed him in the age of Iphitus, which is in the ninth century before Christ; Xenophon, still earlier. He is said to have been the brother of Polydectes the king, and afterwards the guardian of that king's posthumous son. He is said also to have visited Crete, Asia Minor, Egypt, Libya, and even the more distant countries of Iberia and India. Of his having travelled in other countries we need not doubt; as to the particulars of his travels, we are not bound to believe much. At all events, on his return he was welcomed by all parties as the only man capable of curing the evils under which the state was laboring from the dissensions of the orders. According to the custom of the times, he began by securing the sanction of the oracle at Delphi, — a political engine of no mean importance even in those early days, and often employed in accomplishing the far-reaching purposes of warriors and statesmen. He also had from the beginning the support of a large party of citizens. Thus fortified, he set about his task. Having finished the work, he called the people together, and required of them a promise that they would make no change

in his laws until his return from a distant journey, which he was about to take. According to Plutarch, he went to Delphi, and, having sacrificed to Apollo, received from the oracle the assurance that, while the people of Sparta observed his laws, the state should enjoy the height of renown. He determined, therefore, so far as lay in his power, to make it immortal, and to hand it unchangeable down to posterity. "He therefore," adds Plutarch, "put an end to himself by a total abstinence from food; thinking it a statesman's duty to make his very death, if possible, an act of service to the state, and even in the end of his life to give some example of virtue, and effect some useful purpose." The general principle here laid down is very just; while the particular exemplification of it is characteristic of the uniform sentiment of antiquity on suicide.

A slight sketch of the Spartan Constitution is all that time will allow. Lycurgus found two kings, representing two branches of the royal family, and he left them as he found them. He proceeded to ordain a council, or senate, called γερουσία, — that is, a body of elders, — which, including the kings who acted as presidents, consisted of thirty members, the members representing the *obæ*, or subordinate divisions of the people. No man could be elected to the senate before the age of sixty. The election was decided by the body of citizens in a very peculiar manner, thus described by Plutarch. The competitors presented themselves on their own motion to the electors, who testified their respective preferences by acclamations, the intensity of which was noted by a committee of judges in a neighboring building, so placed that they could not see the proceedings; and the successful candidate was the one who, in their opinion, received the most applause. The office was for life and irresponsible; and the duties attached to it were partly legislative, partly judicial, and partly executive. This body had the initiative of all legislative acts; as a criminal court, it could punish with death and degradation; and it exercised a general supervision over the conduct of the people.

Such a senate was no innovation, but belonged to the ancient institutions of the Hellenic race. Next came the ἐκκλησία, —the assembly of the Spartan people. This consisted of all free citizens of the age of thirty and upward, and had supreme authority over all matters that concerned the highest interests of the state. The meetings of the assembly were held every full moon, and on emergencies oftener. This body alone had the war-making power, concluded treaties, made truces for longer or shorter periods, chose to the higher offices, decided disputed successions, and confirmed or rejected changes in the Constitution. This looks like the possession of almost unlimited power; but, on the other hand, the assembly could not initiate a measure of any description, could not even amend a measure proposed to them, could only reject or approve an act just as it came down from the senate, could not even discuss a measure,—none except the ephors, kings, and some of the higher magistrates possessing this right. In theory, the popular assembly was all-powerful; in practice, it was almost entirely under the control of the senate. The power of the kings was exceedingly limited. They presided over the senate, but exercised no more influence than other senators, except that the representative of the elder house had a casting vote. They held a court, in which they decided certain classes of cases. They had the right of speech in the popular assembly. They were commanders in war, at first jointly, but afterwards only one at a time. As such, their power beyond the borders of Laconia was absolute. Domain-lands were assigned to them; their tables were supported at the public expense; they had numerous perquisites, — allotments from the public sacrifices, a pig from every litter, and a double portion at every public entertainment. Their body-guard consisted of a hundred men, and they had many subordinate functionaries to relieve them of the labors of their office. Aristotle, in his usual terse style, says: "Some declare that the best form of government is one mixed of all the forms; wherefore they praise that of the Lacedæmonians, for some say that it is com-

posed of oligarchy, monarchy, and democracy; that the kingly power is monarchy, the office of the senators is oligarchy, and by reason of the ephors, who are taken from the people, it is a democracy. There are others, however, who say that the ephoralty is a tyranny, but that the democratic element is found in the public tables and the arrangements of daily life."

The ephors, to whom Aristotle alludes, were officers common to most of the Dorian states. They were five in number, elected by the people every year, having jurisdiction in civil suits, a censorial authority over the manners and morals of the people, a superintendence over the execution of the laws, and the right of making scrutiny into the conduct of the magistrates, including even the kings, whom they could bring to trial on capital charges. They became the agents and representatives of the popular assembly, and by this means gradually made themselves supreme in the state, completely reducing the kings to their control. On one occasion, at least, they went so far as to arrest and imprison a king, — Pausanias. They could temporarily suspend the royal authority. They alone remained seated in the presence of the kings, while in their presence the kings were expected to rise. The only limit to their power was that of time. "The ephoralty," says Müller, "was the moving element, the principle of change in the Constitution, and in the end the cause of its dissolution."

It is evident that this power was excessive, and could not fail to lead to deplorable abuses; but there were deeper causes for the overthrow of the Constitution, and for the disappearance of Sparta without leaving a single lesson, except by way of warning, for mankind. The three orders of the population were Spartans, Periœci, and Helots. The Spartans were the fully qualified citizens, who lived in Sparta, and were alone eligible to offices of state. The Periœci were freemen, and citizens of the townships in Laconia, with no influence or control in public affairs, but having certain rights of local administration. They were, therefore, in a position greatly inferior to that of the Spartans, with whom they were united in the same political

body, forming with them the free community of Lacedæmon. The Periœci were Dorians, or Dorians intermingled to some extent with the primitive inhabitants of Laconia. The Helots, as I have already stated, were the slave population, attached to the soil and paying rent to their masters. As they were generally the descendants of the original rustic inhabitants, — consequently of Greek origin, — and as they lived more by themselves in their country hamlets, — they appear to have had higher personal qualities than the body of slaves elsewhere, and were consequently the objects of greater dread to their masters. This may partly account for the cruel devices to get rid of them which were mentioned in a former lecture, as well as for such special acts of treachery as Thucydides mentions in connection with the events of the eight years of the Peloponnesian war. At that time the ephors were under great apprehension of a revolt. They accordingly issued a proclamation, that every Helot who had rendered military services to the state — and many had done so — should come forward, and the most deserving should be rewarded with liberty. They appeared in large numbers. Two thousand were selected, and formally manumitted. Garlands were placed on their heads; they were led in solemn procession round the temples of the gods; but, says Thucydides, "not long afterward they all disappeared, and no one knew in what manner any one of them perished." "We see here a fact," says Grote, "which demonstrates unequivocally the impenetrable mystery in which the proceedings of the Spartan government were wrapped, — the absence, not only of public discussion, but of public curiosity, — and the perfection with which the ephors reigned over the will, the hands, and the tongues of their Spartan subjects. The Venetian Council of Ten, with all the facilities for nocturnal drowning which their city presented, could hardly have accomplished so vast a *coup d'état* with such invisible means."

Lycurgus is said to have remedied the inequality of property by redistributing the land, both that belonging to Sparta and

the territory of Laconia, — the former having been divided into nine thousand equal lots, one for each Spartan, and the latter into thirty thousand, one for each Periœcus; but this statement has no early authority in its favor, and the strongest arguments against it. The language of the most trustworthy authors in their allusions to Sparta constantly implies an inequality of wealth among the citizens, and contains no reference whatever to any such equal division; and among these authors are Herodotus, who gives an account of Lycurgus, and Plato, Aristotle, and Xenophon, who made a special study of the Spartan Constitution. The idea is evidently one of later origin than the lifetime of either of these great writers; and Plutarch, who in his Life of Lycurgus has given the most circumstantial description of his polity, took up this view without sufficiently examining its foundation. In truth, it is one of the numerous fictions which accumulated around the name of Lycurgus. It was founded on a vision of reform cherished in the third century before Christ by King Agis IV., who endeavored to restore the Constitution to its ancient purity, and lost his life in the attempt. But Plutarch says, that this equality of property, with nine thousand Spartans, and thirty thousand Periœci, lasted down to the time of Epitadeus, — an ephor who, having quarrelled with his son, and wishing to cut him off from the inheritance, caused a law to be passed that every father of a family might dispose of his estate as he pleased; and this malignant act was the overthrow of the system of equality established by Lycurgus. From Lycurgus to Epitadeus was a period of nearly five centuries. The statement implies, then, that for five hundred years each of the Spartans and each of the Periœci had one son, and no more, who lived to man's estate, and succeeded his father in the possession of the old Lycurgean homestead!

The political arrangements of the Spartans were not so remarkable as the social or private organization, with which, however, they were vitally connected. The Dorians were, from the beginning, warlike, nearly as much so as the North

American savages. When they established themselves in Peloponnesus, they were a small, united body of warriors, in heavy armor, surrounded by native populations which they had subdued, and by slaves outnumbering them many to one. Life itself could be maintained only at the price of perpetual vigilance. These circumstances exercised a controlling influence over their institutions. Martial virtues — that is, courage and endurance — took the lead of all others; and when disorders broke out in the state, the aim of the reformer was to restore the declining qualities of character to their real or fancied pristine condition, or to develop the still remaining germs into a larger growth than they had ever before attained. Some such idea we may suppose to have been in the mind of Lycurgus when he took in hand the task of reconstructing the shattered state. His aim was to educate to their highest efficiency the qualities in man which fit him for a state of war, — to make him a fighting animal in the broadest sense, inspiring him at the same time with absolute devotion to his country. He must therefore train him by the most rigid rules. He must not even commence with his birth, but must direct and control the circumstances under which he shall be born. Education does everything; and that must not be left to the caprice or ignorance or carelessness of the individual. Fathers, mothers, children, must alike be under the rigid watchfulness of the state or its representative, must alike be trained by constant drill to the highest efficiency in their several duties. The infant, as I have said, was submitted to the judgment of public triers, who decided whether he should live at all. If the decision was in the affirmative, he was immediately put under discipline. He was bathed in wine, and not in water, it being supposed that a feeble child would faint in a wine bath; he was not allowed to be put into swathing-bands; he could not be whimsical about his food; he was not permitted to be afraid in the dark, or to give way to ill-humor or crying. At the age of seven he was enrolled in a company or class, playing, exercising, and undergoing dis-

cipline with his fellows. The boldest and hardiest of the troop was made captain; the rest obeyed his orders, and submitted to the punishments he decreed. Sometimes the elderly Spartans, coming to their quarters, got up quarrels, and pitted the little fellows against one another to try their pluck. They were taught a little reading and writing; but the discipline chiefly aimed to make them hardy. Their heads were close shaven, they went barefoot, and played naked. Bathing and anointing were occasionally indulged in, after the age of twelve. They slept on rushes, which they plucked, without a knife, on the banks of the Eurotas. At twelve years old, a citizen of honorable character was placed in charge of them, who appointed their leaders from among those a little older. The youths were then employed in various offices; — sent on stealing expeditions, and whipped if they were found out. One of the reasons assigned by Plutarch for their hard fare was, "that they might grow taller; for the vital spirits, not being overburdened and oppressed by too great a quantity of nourishment, which necessarily runs into thickness and breadth, do by their natural lightness rise; and the body, giving and yielding because it is pliant, grows in height. The same thing seems also to conduce to beauty of shape; a dry and lean habit is a better subject for nature's configuration, which the stout and overfed are too heavy to submit to properly." Plutarch relates the well-known anecdote, that a youth, having stolen a fox, hid it under his cloak, and let it tear his vitals rather than be detected; and he adds, that he had himself "seen several youths endure whipping to death at the foot of the altar of Artemis."

The public tables — *syssitia* — were under the direction of the Polemarchs, or ministers of war. Each citizen was required to contribute his quota of provisions, — barley-meal, wine, cheese, and figs, and a small sum of money for condiments. Here every man, without distinction, was obliged to take his meals. The citizen's days were spent in gymnastic exercises and military drill; for the lawgiver had forbidden him every

species of industrious or money-making occupation, including agriculture. His nights were passed in a species of barracks; for, through the period of youth at least, the Spartan, though married, had no domestic life, and associated with his family only by stealth.

Lycurgus was of opinion that to sit at home and spin and weave was well enough for female slaves, but was no fitting occupation for the future wives and mothers of Spartans. The Spartan maidens, therefore, were carried through a system of training like that to which the youths were inured. They were exercised daily in running, wrestling, and boxing, in the presence of the young men, the kings, and the body of the citizens; they marched in the religious processions, and sang and danced in public; and, in their turn, they were spectators of the exercises of the young men.

Xenophon is enthusiastic upon the beauty of the Spartan women. That their pre-eminence in this respect was acknowledged in Athens may be inferred from a passage in the "Lysistrata" of Aristophanes. It is a play in which the women of Greece are represented as holding a general convention, to devise measures for the establishment of peace. On the arrival of Lampito, the delegate from Lacedæmon, she is saluted by Lysistrata, the leader of the movement, and welcomed by the assembled womanhood of Greece in admiring terms: —

"Hail!
Lampito, dearest of Laconian women,
How shines thy beauty, O my sweetest friend!
How fair thy color, full of life thy frame!
Why, thou couldst choke a bull.

LAMPITO.

Yes, by the Twain
For daily I the art gymnastic practise,
And leaping strike my backbone with my heels.

LYSISTRATA.

In sooth, thy charms are lovely to behold."

Aristotle gives a rather unfavorable view of the Spartan women. They were not, in all respects, as hardly treated as

the men. They were spared the public tables and the black broth; and the consequence was, as Plato and Aristotle intimate, that they grew luxurious at home; and this difference of treatment Aristotle says was owing to the fact that Lycurgus did his best to bring the women under the same system of discipline with the men, but found them more than a match for him, and had to give up the attempt. It is very possible that the Athenian philosopher, who did not greatly admire, on general principles, the kind of strong-bodied women which the Spartan gymnastics tended to produce, may have met with some unpleasant specimens of the sex, and that he analyzed their characters as he would have dissected some strange fish. A curious fact mentioned by him is, that two fifths of the landed property of Sparta in his time belonged to women. At all events, women exercised a more controlling power in Sparta than elsewhere in Greece; and their applause was sought by the young men, at their military exercises, with an enthusiasm that reminds us of the knights in the Middle Ages. Their praise was the warrior's dearest crown, their contempt more intolerable than death. Marriage was an indispensable condition of respectability to the Spartan.

His peculiar training made the Spartan an obstinate conservative. Charondas, the lawgiver of a Dorian colony in Italy, after preparing his code, enacted that, if any man proposed a new law, he should enter the assembly with a halter round his neck, and that, if the proposition was not accepted, the proposer should be immediately hanged, — a very good method of preventing excessive legislation. As the laws of Lycurgus were not written, and written laws were even forbidden, there was no need of a safeguard like that of Charondas. The interpretation of each statute rested in the bosom of the judge. But the Spartan, like his brother Dorians elsewhere, hated change. He refused a new seasoning to his broth, and would not allow a new string to be added to the old four-chorded lyre. It was a praiseworthy point in his manners, that he respected old age, and regarded slander upon the memory of the dead with abhorrence, as the worst of crimes.

The literary education of the Spartan was very limited. The literature of the Doric dialect was mostly produced by writers other than Spartan. Pindar's odes are in the Doric dialect, but Pindar was a Theban. Alcman was an Asiatic; Tyrtæus was an Ionian of Attica; Telesilla, famous for her odes, was an Argive woman. Her poems were admired; but she was much more renowned for having on one occasion armed herself with helmet and shield, and led an army of women to drive back a besieging enemy from the walls.

With such a people there could be no popular eloquence. Indeed, as we have seen, at the meetings of the people no one was allowed to say anything except the kings and some of the higher magistrates. Kings have never been distinguished, as a class, for their eloquence. A man who has the power to order has no need to persuade; and a people that can say only "yes" or "no" is not very likely to produce a race of orators. Long debates were, therefore, unknown in Sparta. I suppose that the most important question ever brought before a Spartan assembly might have been despatched in a minute and a half, allowing one minute for the royal speech, and half a minute for the popular vote, — a vast saving of time, doubtless.

Thus we see that the whole tendency of the institutions of Lycurgus was to train up a limited number of men and women, forming a compact community, living on the labor of slaves, with powerfully developed frames, terrible in war, silent in peace; but in doing this, the sentiments of humanity, the affections of family, the delights of literature, the charms of art, and the exhilaration of varied social intercourse, were sacrificed. In short, the objects of the private and public training of the Spartan were such as are approved neither by reason, philosophy, nor common sense; they imply no enlightened view of human life on earth, or of the destiny of man hereafter.

There are two striking pictures presented to us by the Spartan commonwealth. A Dorian army marching to battle was doubtless a splendid and imposing spectacle, and exhibited the

image of war in its highest perfection. The soldiers with garlands on their heads, the king leading the pæan, — all moving without disorder in their ranks, with minds composed and countenances serene, advancing with measured step and the music of flutes to the deadly onset, — fill us with a certain admiration. Then, again, when tidings of disaster arrive at Sparta, — of the defeat at Leuctra, for example, — the Spartan demeanor is equally characteristic. A festival is going forward, — the news circulates that thousands of the best and bravest have perished; but the festival still proceeds. The friends of those who have fallen on the field appear in public, rejoicing as if in some piece of good fortune. The friends of the survivors, on the other hand, are overwhelmed with grief and shame. A calamity has overtaken them; for their sons, brothers, husbands, have *not* been slain. Here is a wonderful result, certainly, of the power of training, — more wonderful than the army on the battle-field.

In these two scenes we have the culmination of Spartan institutions, the supreme excellence of the Spartan character. Was this, even judged by the standard of ancient philosophy, the highest attainable end, worthy to be held forth by the founder of a state, and proposed to the citizen as the noblest object to which his aspirations should be directed? And did this training prepare the Dorians for a long national existence? I think not. Its success depended upon the limitations of numbers and space, — upon rigid non-intercourse with other nations, politically, financially, socially, and in every relation save that of war. The iron currency, and the *xenelasia*, or exclusion of strangers, were designed to perpetuate the commercial and social isolation; and all the other institutions had the same general tendency. It is surprising that the Spartan commonwealth retained its distinctive characteristics, even externally, as long as it did. It began, in fact, to decay inwardly very early. The iron currency created an intense thirst for gold; the black broth, an irresistible longing for the luxuries of the table; the rigid life prepared for licen-

tious indulgences; the war-poetry made amatory and bacchanalian songs peculiarly welcome; the love of fighting roused a passion for foreign conquest; and when Agis IV. attempted, in his generous but visionary schemes of reform, to carry back the degenerate community to the vigor of the ancient life, he fell under the murderous stroke of the ephors. No men were so easily bribed in the later times as the kings and generals of Sparta. None of the Greeks fell so readily and completely under the temptations of Oriental pomp and luxury, as the Spartan commanders in Asia Minor. The story of Pausanias, so vividly related by Thucydides, illustrates this in a most instructive manner. Charged with the command of the Spartan army, he surrounded himself with the guards of Asiatic despotism, wore the Asiatic dress, assumed the Asiatic haughtiness of demeanor, and offered to subject all Greece to the Great King on condition of having that monarch's daughter for his wife. True, he was recalled, and perished miserably; but the attempt shows the natural effect of such a system upon the character of man. You cannot outrage Nature, without suffering the penalty. If you insist on cramping her under the repressions and restraints of an artificial system, be sure she will break the bounds when opportunity and temptation come, as they will come sooner or later.

LECTURE V.

ATHENIAN KINGS. — SOLON AND HIS LAWS.

The song of Athenian exiles in another land had for its refrain the words, Ἴωμεν ἐς Ἀθήνας, — "Let us go to Athens." Others besides Athenian exiles have fondly repeated the refrain, Ἴωμεν ἐς Ἀθήνας. Let us go to Athens to-night. We leave the banks of the Eurotas, the Taygetus, the military brotherhood of the Spartans, and, passing over the Saronic Gulf, greet the hills of Attica, the Plain of Athens, the Acropolis, the Parthenon, the Pheidian Minerva, the Cephissus and Academy, the Ilissus and Lyceum. Like the ancient Erechtheidæ, "we walk in the most brilliant air"; we call up the mighty names of the past, whose memorials dwell eternally in the hearts of men. Of all the cities in the world, — next to Jerusalem, the Holy City, which stands apart in the sacred thoughts of the human race, — Athens is peerless and alone. In her contributions to the progress of humanity, in legislation, in poetry, in philosophy, in statesmanship, in art, in the administration of justice, in every species of eloquence, in the urbanities of social life, in the multitude of great names that adorn her history, in commerce, in the mechanic arts, so despised at Sparta, in political economy, Athens was without an equal, without a second; — the school of the ancient world, so long as taste and culture endured; the school of art in the modern world, from the moment her glorious ruins were discovered by the early traveller; at this day the school of letters, education, liberty to the Hellenic race, revived, disenthralled, destined before many years have passed to replace the cross on the domes of St. Sophia, and to chase the crescent across the Bosporus, and into Central Asia, whence it came.

The origin of Athens is lost in the mists of the most remote antiquity. There is a curious passage in the Timæus of Plato, in which Critias, one of the persons of the dialogue, relates that he had heard from his grandfather Critias — then ninety years old — a story which he, the grandfather, had heard in his youth from Solon. According to this tradition, when Solon was in Egypt, he held a conversation with a priest of Sais on the antiquity of their respective countries. The priest called the Greeks mere children, and said they knew nothing about their own ancestors. But in point of fact, Sais and Athens were both founded by the same goddess, called Neith by the Egyptians, and Athene by the Greeks. Sais was founded eight thousand years ago, and Athens nine thousand. The site of Athens was selected by the goddess, because she thought that the temperature of the seasons would produce the most intellectual men. She therefore, being a lover of war and a lover of wisdom, chose the spot which would bear men most like herself, and peopled it. The ancient inhabitants of Athens, thus founded, in excellence of laws and in every virtue surpassed all mankind, as was to be expected of the children and pupils of the gods. Their great deeds, lost from the memory of the Athenians in Solon's age, were recorded in Sais; as was one exploit of theirs which exceeded all the others. In those old, antediluvian times, there came from the Atlantic sea, from beyond the pillars of Hercules, a mighty force, from the island there. This island was larger than Libya and Asia, and communicated with other islands and a continent in the Atlantic sea. In this island, called the Atlantis, there existed a mighty host, which, having assembled, came to enslave the countries occupied by the Athenians and the Saitans. Then the power of the Athenians distinguished itself in the eyes of all mankind; for, taking the lead of all the Greeks in arts and arms, Athens conquered the invaders, freed those who had been enslaved, and saved the free from threatened bondage. Some time after these events, dreadful earthquakes and deluges occurred; the martial hosts of Athens were swallowed up in

the earth; the Atlantic Island vanished from sight beneath the sea; and from that time the ocean has been inaccessible and inscrutable. These events, according to the Egyptian legend, or the fiction of Plato, took place nine thousand years before Solon. This is the tradition which has been supposed to show that the ancients had some notion of the American continent. Several of the expressions apply with extraordinary accuracy to the New World; and whether the legend came from the priests of Sais or was the invention of the philosopher himself, it is equally curious. No doubt it was very acceptable to the Athenians, falling in, as it did, with their pride of autochthonous descent.

Thucydides states that Attica, in the early ages, was less disturbed by immigrations and revolutions than other parts of Greece, on account of the lightness of the soil, which offered but slight temptation to the roving tribes of those unsettled times. The city of Athens was built round a rocky elevation, rising from the plain about six hundred feet above the level of the sea, and three hundred above the average level of the town. This height, about a thousand feet in length from east to west, and five hundred feet wide at the widest place, was a convenient eminence for the stronghold of some chieftain, whose retainers occupied the grounds just below it; and thus a military or predatory community was formed. This, or something like it, I suppose to have been the germ of the illustrious city of Athens. One of the Attic legends represents Cecrops — according to some an Egyptian immigrant, according to others an old Pelasgian hero — as the first occupant of the Acropolis, which was called from him Cecropia. Sixteen kings followed him, the line ending with Codrus, who sacrificed his life for his country. In this line were Theseus and Menestheus. Erechtheus is said to have built a temple to Athene, on the Acropolis; and from him the Erechtheium of Pericles received its name. The house of Erechtheus and the rich temple of Athene are mentioned by Homer.

Theseus is the favorite hero among the legendary kings.

Before his time Attica was divided into several independent communities, like the other states of Greece. Theseus united these — twelve in number — into one commonwealth, and laid the foundation of the political institutions which Solon afterwards reformed. His exploits were favorite subjects of poetry and art; and his name and deeds were commemorated, in the time of Cimon, by the beautiful temple, which still stands in better preservation than any other structure of ancient Athens. The bones of the hero, who was slain in the distant island of Scyros, were brought to Athens, received with every mark of honor, and buried on the spot where the temple stands; and on the frieze were sculptured, by the best Athenian artists, beautiful groups, representing his brave deeds, together with those of his friend and associate Hercules. Menestheus led the Athenian contingent in the Trojan war, and was ranked by Homer as, in warlike deeds, second only to Nestor.

After the death of Codrus, as the legend says, no one was allowed to bear the name of king; but his son Medon succeeded him, as archon or ruler by hereditary right. The succession of life-archons lasted through twelve reigns, and ended with Alcmæon, a little later than the re-establishment of the Olympic games, — B. C. 776, — the earliest authentic date in Grecian history. The archonship was then changed to an office of ten years' duration; and seven decennial archons carried on the government till B. C. 683. At this time several very important changes took place in the supreme magistracy of the Athenian commonwealth. The office of archon was made annual, and its various functions were distributed among a board of nine colleagues, who were to be taken from the class of the *Eupatridæ*, or descendants of the ancient noble families. One of these magistrates was considered the head of the board. He was called the *eponymus*, or the magistrate who gave his name to the year, and who was always mentioned in records and documents.

There was an ancient division of the people of Attica, attributed to Theseus, into three classes, — the Eupatridæ, or old

Ionian nobility; the Geomori, or tillers of the soil; and the Demiurgi, or artisans, — all political power belonging to the first class. There was a still older distribution into four tribes, said by some to have been derived from the four sons of Ion, the mythical progenitor of the Ionian race. The names, however, seem to point to four classes, distinguished, according to their occupations, as tillers of the soil, warriors, herdsmen, and artisans; but the names are doubtful and their meanings still more so, and it is impossible to say with any certainty what was the original principle of the division. Somewhat later, a local division arose, on which political parties and civil dissensions were founded. The parties were that of the mountain, that of the plain, and that of the sea-coast. At the time of the appointment of life-archons, there existed the council or senate of the Areopagus, which seems to have represented the ancient *Boulé* of Homer's time.

Until the age of Draco and Solon, the government was in the hands of the Archons and the Areopagus, that is, it was carefully limited to the noble class. But abuses early manifested themselves; the common people groaned in poverty under this oligarchical system; the rich had everything in their own way; and the poor became poorer, until many of them were sold into slavery to pay the debts they owed to their Eupatrid landlords, or were reduced to the rank of slaves at home. This state of things at length became intolerable; and Draco, a distinguished citizen, was appointed, under what precise circumstances we do not know, to draw up a code of written laws, inasmuch as, up to this time, the laws at Athens had been traditional, and the interpretation and application of them had been left to the discretion of the nobles. Draco seems to have been a hard man, having no sympathy with the weaknesses of human nature from which crimes proceed. There is ancient testimony that some of his laws were excellent, and that they continued unrepealed down to the end of the Peloponnesian war. But his penal code was simple and severe. For the smallest theft or larceny the penalty was death; so that

Democles the orator said that his laws were written in blood. Such a system could not be long enforced against the outraged sentiments of the human heart. The principle assumed by Draco, that the smallest crime deserves death and the greatest can receive no more, is a fallacy which every man instinctively rejects, and every society will instinctively refuse to recognize. I doubt if a single condemnation ever took place under this extreme principle; and the wonder is, how any man could ever have dreamed of the possibility of enforcing such a system. But an enthusiast pays little heed to human nature, when organizing his plan of operations. If men refuse compliance, the fault is not in the system, but in human nature, which obstinately resists the proposed reform. Draco had counted without his host. On a visit to the theatre in Ægina, the people, pretending to honor him, threw so many cloaks upon him that he was smothered to death.

The confusion incident to this unsuccessful attempt at legislation was thought by Cylon, one of the Eupatrids, a favorable opportunity to establish a tyranny. Supported by a strong body of armed retainers, he seized the Acropolis, misled by an ambiguous oracle which he had received from Delphi. The people had no fancy for a tyranny, and they besieged him closely. He contrived to escape; but his associates, who had taken refuge at the altar of Athene, were induced to quit the asylum by the promise that they should be spared, and as they came away were immediately put to death. The family of the Alcmæonidæ, to which the archon Megacles, the author of this sacrilege, belonged, were looked upon as polluted; their presence was deemed dangerous to the state, and some years afterward they were expelled from Athens. A pestilence breaking out at this time, the superstitious fears of the people connected it with the pollution of the Alcmæonidæ; and the managers of the oracle at Delphi, glad of every opportunity to extend their influence over the minds of men through their religious terrors, advised them to call in the aid of Epimenides of Crete, a famous impostor, who made the world believe that,

in a trance of fifty-seven years' duration, he had been favored with supernatural intercourse with the gods. This crafty old classic trance-medium was accordingly sent for; was received with the most distinguished honors; performed sacrifices and other ceremonies, which were supposed to have stayed the plague; and, unlike the modern mediums, when the people offered him money for his services, refused it, and would receive nothing but a spray of the sacred olive on the Acropolis.

During these transactions there rose to notice a young man, destined to exercise an influence so long as legislation continues in political society. Solon was born about 638 B. C., of one of the most illustrious families in Athens. By his father's side he was descended from Codrus; and by his mother he was connected with the family of Peisistratus. The hereditary estate possessed by the family had been reduced, partly by the prodigality of his father, Execestides. Solon perhaps inherited his father's love of pleasure. He had a bright, genial temperament, and, in the gayety of youth, he sang the praises of love and wine. But he had, beyond this, a genius for practical life, and a shrewd common sense, which made success certain in whatever enterprise he might undertake. The liberal spirit of the Ionians opened to him various roads to the retrieving of his dilapidated fortunes. He chose commerce. The city of Athens was adapted to foreign trade, not only by the lively genius of her inhabitants, but by the advantages of her natural situation. With the beautiful harbors of Peiræus and Munychia and the Bay of Phalerum only four miles off, the products of the world could be easily and safely brought to her door. Solon engaged in foreign commerce, travelled to distant lands, and sought not only pecuniary gain, but the acquaintance of the wise and good wherever he went. It is probable that the pleasant manners and instructive conversation of the Athenian merchant made him everywhere a welcome guest; but I am afraid we must reject, on chronological grounds, the beautiful tale so spiritedly told by Herodotus, and repeated by subse-

quent historians, of his interview with Crœsus and its dramatic issue.

At all events, we must suppose that Solon was successful in his business enterprises, and that he returned to Athens with at least a competent fortune. He had the temperament and genius, I do not say of a politician, but of a statesman. With a capacious mind, which united sound knowledge, unerring judgment, a calm and cheerful temper, to a brilliant imagination, a ready eloquence, and high poetical ability, he gained, without the need of demagogic arts, the affections of the people as well as the confidence of the Eupatrids. On one occasion only did he resort to a trick. The Athenians had often unsuccessfully attempted to wrest Salamis from Megara, and in a moment of disgust they made it a capital crime to propose a renewal of the attempt. They soon repented of this hasty piece of legislation, but no one dared to hazard his life by moving to set it aside. Solon caused a rumor to be circulated that he was insane; and having written a war-poem, of which six or eight lines are preserved, he rushed like a madman into the Agora, collected a crowd of by-standers around him, and recited the verses with the enthusiasm of a rhapsodist, rebuking the Athenians for their cowardice, and declaring that he would rather be a citizen of the most contemptible town in Greece, than be pointed at as one of those Athenian dastards who had abandoned their right to Salamis. The people made all haste to rescind the law, and appointed Solon commander of the expedition. He drove the Megarians from Salamis, which from that time onward continued to be an integral part of the Attic territory.

He was, soon afterward, sent as a deputy from Athens to the Amphictyonic Council held at Delphi, where he took part with the Delphian priesthood against the Amphissians, who had been guilty of some encroachments on the sacred territory, the details of which we have from Æschines, in the Oration against Ctesiphon. This transaction, I fancy, combined both policy and a sense of justice, — policy, in securing the good will of so

powerful an institution as the priesthood of Apollo at Delphi, and justice, in repelling an invasion of their property by a rude and semi-barbarous neighboring tribe. What he really thought of the supernatural pretensions of the institution does not appear.

In the following year, B. C. 594, he was chosen Archon, and, on account of the troubles in the state, was clothed with unlimited powers to make such reforms in the Constitution as might appear to him for the public advantage, all orders unanimously consenting. He devoted himself to the noble task — one well worthy of his vast capacity — in a spirit of disinterested devotion to his country, which contributed largely to make that country the illustrious power she became, and which is daily felt in the enactment of laws and the administration of justice all over the civilized world. If Athens was fortunate in possessing such a citizen in such a crisis, Solon was no less fortunate in having so magnificent an opportunity to advance the welfare of his country and to confer immortal benefits on the world. His first measures were to relieve the people from the pressure of the burdens that weighed them down. This he did by recalling from slavery all Athenians whom debt had sent into domestic or foreign bondage, and by prohibiting forever the practice of selling or being sold into slavery in satisfaction for debt. Next, he framed an enactment called σεισάχθεια, — or shaking off of burdens, — by which he relieved the debtors either of the interest due on their obligations or of a portion of the debts themselves, — a measure founded upon the same principle and to be justified by the same reasoning as a modern bankrupt act. Finally, he lowered the standard of the coinage by dividing the mina into a hundred instead of seventy-three drachmas; so that, the drachma being the unit of the currency, seventy-three old drachmas would pay a debt of a hundred. This measure was more objectionable than either of the others; and it has been imitated too often since Solon's day. It led in his case, as it has since in similar cases, to speculation in advance of the coming measure. Certain

persons, who were aware of what was to be done, bought estates, and paid for them afterwards in the new currency,—a transaction of such a nature that the character of Solon might have been damaged by it, had he not lost, fortunately for himself and for all future ages, a large amount on the money he had himself lent, which was repaid at the new rate. Solon next repealed most of the laws of Draco, except those relating to murder.

The old Constitution was an oligarchy, the powers of government being confined to the class of Eupatridæ. Solon laid the foundation of the new government on a different principle. For birth he substituted property; for an *oligarchy* a *timocracy*. He divided the citizens into four classes, according to their income reckoned in measures of corn. The first class were called the *Pentacosiomedimni*, consisting of those whose income was five hundred medimni and upward, — a medimnus being about a bushel and a half. The second class consisted of those whose income ranged between five hundred and three hundred, called *Hippeis*, or horsemen, (*Knights*,) since they were expected to furnish each a war-horse. The third class were those whose income ranged from three hundred to two hundred medimni, and were called *Zeugitæ*, because they were able to keep a ζεῦγος, a yoke of oxen for the plough. The fourth, or lowest class, consisted of all those whose income fell below two hundred medimni. They were called *Thetes*, a word which ordinarily signified *hirelings*. The first three classes were taxed according to the amount of their property; the fourth was wholly exempt from taxation. The archonship and the higher offices of state were open only to the first class. The inferior offices might be attained by members of the second and third classes. The members of the fourth class, as an offset for their exemption from taxation, were excluded from public offices; and they were required to serve in war only as light-armed troops.

Solon instituted, or remodelled, a public assembly, in which all the four classes took part, and allowed the lowest class the

right to vote, thus imparting a substantial political power to all Athenian freemen. They had the right of voting, not only on ordinary matters of legislation, but in the elections of the archons, who were also accountable to them at the close of their year of office. As a counterpoise to this popular body, Solon created a Council of Four Hundred, who were to be elected by the assembly, one hundred from each of the old Ionic tribes, which were left unchanged. The senators held their office for a year, and were accountable to the people at its close. This ancient Senate, or Council of the Areopagus, had the general supervision of the laws, and exercised a censorial power over the morals and occupations of the citizens.

Under this general organization, Solon made numerous laws regulating the public and private life of the Athenians; but though they were carefully preserved, inscribed on wooden rollers and tablets, only a few fragments here and there quoted by the ancient writers have come down to us. There were several for the encouragement of trade and manufactures, and for establishing the rights of foreign residents. There was one requiring the father to teach his son some trade or profession; and if this duty was neglected, the son was not obliged to support his father in old age or misfortune. Another law disfranchised the citizen who refused to take sides in civil discord. The laws relating to marriages were designed to prevent matches from being made from any other motive than affection. Another law forbade the speaking evil of the dead; for it is pious to think the deceased sacred, just not to meddle with those who are gone, and politic to prevent the perpetuity of discord. By the law regulating wills, the childless citizen was allowed to bequeath his estate away from his family to whomsoever he pleased, the law having previously made the estate of the deceased absolutely the property of his family.

Solon committed the mistake common to all the ancient and most of the modern lawgivers, of attempting a too minute regulation of domestic life. He undertook to prescribe the walks, feasts, drives, and — most difficult of all things for a

legislator of the ruder sex to comprehend — the dresses of the women. When they walked abroad they were to appear in only three articles of dress, and neither of these was a crinoline. They were to take at once only an obol's (two cents) worth of meat and drink; they were never to carry a basket more than a cubit high; and at night they were not allowed to appear in the streets, except in a chariot with a torch before them. These enactments were probably ineffectual. It is not surprising that he fell into this error. Legislation interfering with private usages, fashions, food, drink, and expenditure in general has not even now, with all the experience of the world, passed out of the dreams of reformers. Solon's laws were as unobjectionable as any that were ever enacted on this class of subjects. If they were not enforced, no great harm was done to manners or morals.

In general, his legislation was of the most practical description, and admirably adapted to the actual state of things. The relief afforded to the commonwealth was instantaneous and effectual; but the carrying out of a new code is always a matter of some difficulty. It takes time, patience, and good sense to bring about the necessary adjustments between the old and the new, and, by a series of authoritative interpretations, to make the practice and the theory fixed and permanent. Solon had his troubles. He was worried with constant applications to know what this or that proviso in this or that law could possibly mean. Disputes were referred to him; complaints and criticisms were brought to him. In short, he found himself in a more uncomfortable position than a committee for the revision of the statutes, with a legislature at their heels. It became intolerable. He hired a ship, and again set out on his travels for ten years, having first secured the adoption of his laws for a hundred years. He went to Cyprus, next to Asia, and then to Egypt, where he became acquainted with the priests of Sais, and learned the curious legend about the Atlantic Island. He had hardly turned his back on Athens, when the discords between the mountain, the plain, and

the sea-shore broke out afresh, each party, under an able and ambitious chieftain, struggling for supremacy. We may remark that the Constitution of Solon created no single executive head; but the powers which belong to this department of government were distributed among the great bodies and the higher magistrates of the state. This circumstance opened the way for an individual to exercise a controlling, if not a sovereign influence, without exposing himself to the direct charge of treason, or of an attempt to overthrow the existing government.

Of the three leaders who came prominently forward in the absence of Solon, Peisistratus was the ablest and the most aspiring. He claimed to be descended from no less a personage than the Pylian Nestor, the aged counsellor of Agamemnon, and he was distantly related to Solon, whom he had aided in the attack on Salamis. He was remarkable for personal beauty, intellectual endowments, eloquence, and military talent. The party of the mountain was the most democratic and the most numerous. Peisistratus put himself forward as its leader, and became the professed friend and patron of the poor. He opened his gardens to the people, and scattered money in the streets. He had a pleasant word and a cordial salutation for every hard-handed laborer whom he met in his daily walks; so early do the arts of popularity spring up in a free country. The quarrels between the factions had not come to a head when Solon returned, B. C. 562, and attempted, by personal influence, to reconcile the leaders and restore harmony among the divided orders of the state. He was respectfully listened to, especially by his kinsman and old friend Peisistratus; but that was all. Solon, convinced that Peisistratus was determined to execute his design of placing himself at the head of the state, endeavored, by speech and song, to put the people on their guard; but in vain. When the time was ripe, the scheming demagogue appeared in the Agora, drawn in his chariot by mules, and covered with wounds, pretending he had received them from the hands of

assassins as he was driving into the country. The multitude, indignant at this attempt on the life of the friend of the people, granted him a body-guard of fifty club-men, against the remonstrances of Solon, who saw through the trick, and was the only man who had courage to expose and denounce it. This, too, was all in vain. The friend of the people had everything in his own way, and increased the number of his body-guard without opposition. Solon's verses, vigorous and prophetic as they were, fell on unheeding ears, and some said he was mad. In the year 560 B. C., Peisistratus seized the Acropolis, and was master of the city, and the leaders of the other parties fled. But he was soon compelled to quit Athens by a combination of the opposite factions; nor did he return until six years later, when an arrangement was made with Megacles, the leader of the aristocratic party, for his restoration to power.

Herodotus relates, and the story was often repeated, that the following device was resorted to by the conspirators. They found in a village, a few miles outside of the city, a young peasant woman named Phya, of extraordinary stateliness and beauty, who supported herself by selling garlands. They persuaded this damsel to personate the goddess Athene; they armed her with a splendid panoply, including shield, helmet, and spear, and, placing her in the chariot side by side with Peisistratus, conducted them, in the midst of loud applauses from the deluded multitude and the proclamation of heralds, into the city, — the people accepting the man for their master, and worshipping the woman as a goddess. Herodotus considers this affair as a proof of the simplicity or folly of the Athenians. I used to regard it in that light myself, and even doubted the truth of the story; but of late years I have seen so many persons, who pass for persons of sense, imposed upon by tricks so much less ingenious than that of Peisistratus, that I rather wonder he did not call up or down all the gods and goddesses of Olympus to aid him in his imposture.

Driven a second time into exile, Peisistratus withdrew to Eubœa. Ten years were spent in collecting the means of a

second restoration. When all was in readiness, he crossed over to Marathon, and, marching round the southern spur of Pentelicus, entered the Mesogæa, or Midland region. Here he was encountered by an armed force from the city, which he defeated, and then entered Athens without opposition, becoming tyrant for the third time. The power descended, at his death, to his two sons, Hipparchus and Hippias, the former of whom was assassinated in the year 514 B. C.; and the latter, who had become a jealous and cruel tyrant since his brother's death, was driven from Athens four years later.

This closed the period of the Peisistratidæ. The founder of the house used his power thus lawlessly obtained with discretion and wisdom. He favored the arts and literature. He surrounded himself with distinguished poets from every part of Greece. He caused the poems of Homer to be carefully revised and rearranged, and ordained that they should be publicly read at stated times, so that the Athenian people from that period were generally quite familiar with those marvellous works of genius, — a fact which exercised a most important influence on their literary culture. He commenced the great Temple of Olympian Zeus, which was not finished until Hadrian's reign, six hundred years later. Fifteen magnificent Corinthian columns, standing on the ancient platform, still attest the grandeur of the design. Notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of Solon to this usurpation of Peisistratus, he always treated the great lawgiver with the most profound respect; sought his counsel on the most important occasions; even gained his approbation for many of his measures. He indeed carried on the government through the instrumentality of the institutes of Solon; and had the place he filled been one provided for by the Constitution, and won by legal means, he would have been the object of reverence and gratitude to all succeeding ages of his countrymen. And we may say that his career as an unconstitutional ruler shows a defect in the Constitution itself; and it would have been well if, in the changes it underwent in the hands of subsequent reformers, it had oc-

curred to any one of them to add an article providing for the election of an executive chief-magistrate, with all the powers which naturally belong to that office.

Solon did not long survive the usurpation of Peisistratus. He died a year or two afterwards, at the age of eighty. I do not think the Athenian estimate of this great man at all exaggerated. Few men in history have shown such disinterestedness, such consummate ability, such knowledge of human nature. When he was clothed with absolute power, some of his friends urged him to make himself permanently a despot,—a step he might easily have taken, with the consent and applause of all classes in the commonwealth. To most men the temptation would have been irresistible; and the standard of political virtue, which caused the rejection of the advice, was wonderfully high in that age, and would be high in any age. When the proposal was made to him, he replied in his kindly way, "Tyranny is a pleasant country, no doubt; but there is no road out of it,"—showing how well he understood its attractions and its dangers. He was fond of leisure, and had a temperate love of the delights of social life; but when the occasion required it, he showed a fearless and adamantine firmness. He rebuked the people for their follies; he withstood the usurper, though his own kinsman and former friend, face to face, at the hazard of his own life. Of his genius and accomplishments, the ancients always spoke with admiration. He would have been superior to Homer, said Plato, if he had finished his poem on the lost Atlantis. Æschines calls him a man well skilled in philosophy and poetry. His Salaminian Ode, of which only a small fragment is preserved, was thought equal to the lyrics of Tyrtæus. The other fragments of his verse are nervous and pointed, and abound in admirable poetical images. They give us an idea of what he might and would have done had he dedicated his life to poetry. The following passage, from one of his warning appeals against the usurpations of his kinsman, is, I think, beautiful for justness of sentiment and elegance of illustration.

"Out of the clouds the snow-flakes are poured, and fury of hailstorm;
After the lightning's flash follows the thunderous bolt;
Tossed by the winds is the sea, though now so calmly reposing,
Hushed in a motionless rest, image of justice and peace.
So is the state by its great men ruined, and under the tyrant
Sinks the people unwise, yielding to slavery's thrall;
Nor is it easy to humble the ruler too highly exalted,
After the hour is passed. Now is the time to foresee."

"I grow old, ever learning many things," was Solon's expression, and it might be taken as the formula of his experience. The moderation of his temper and his cheerful views of life, notwithstanding the severity of the trials through which he passed, and to which he was by no means insensible, are truly admirable. He prays the gods to grant him prosperity and the good opinion of men. He desires wealth, but not to gain it unjustly. Thus genial, temperate, enjoying; thus kind, beneficent, patriotic; ready to serve friends and country; prompt to check the wrong-doer, and to cheer on the brave and the good; taking the gifts of the gods thankfully, and using them as they were meant to be used; finally, praying that death might overtake him at eighty years, and his prayer literally answered, — I must apply to Solon the standard of felicity he applied to others. I must pronounce him happy who closed such a life without suffering calamity.

In the principal features of his character, Solon was a good specimen of the Ionian Greek, as Lycurgus well represented the Dorian Greek; and his institutions embodied the Ionian legislative genius, as those of Lycurgus embodied the legislative genius of the Dorians. The laws of Solon were founded on human nature, and their principles are therefore suited for all times. Those of Lycurgus were fitted to the Dorian distortion of nature, and their principles vanished when the Dorian fanaticism was over. The orators of Athens were fond of appealing to Solon as the founder of the democracy. Perhaps they carried this practice a little too far, making him appear to be responsible for developments of the democratic principle which he never dreamed of. That Solon placed the govern-

ment to a great degree in the hands of the people, by giving them the elective franchise, and by making all the high officers of the state accountable to them, is most true; and it is true that this admission of the will of the people as the source of power, and the judgment of the people as the tribunal before which the exercise of power is to be passed upon, logically and historically involves all the extensions of the popular principle that ensued in the succeeding stages of the Athenian republic. But Solon was not insensible to the danger of giving unrestrained scope to the popular will. In the restriction which he laid upon the assembly, by requiring that every measure should be initiated by the more select body of the senate before the assembly could consider it, and in the general powers of supervision with which he clothed the court of the Areopagus, he thought he had provided two anchors, as he expressed it, to steady the ship of state. He had combined the element of popular will with a wise barrier against its excesses, — a conception of the functions of a free government which does the greatest honor to his comprehensive statesmanship. In some of the details of his legislation he was induced, as I have already shown, by the desirableness of certain personal virtues, to attempt too minute an interference with private life. Again, if it be true that he forbade the exportation of all the products of the country except oil, his political economy was at fault; nor do I understand how he could have expected commerce, which is exchange, to flourish at Athens, without exports as well as imports. Perhaps, in this matter, our information is too imperfect to enable us to form a trustworthy opinion. On another point he showed consummate wisdom. He knew that the soil of Attica was light, and its agricultural capabilities not remarkable; and yet the power of the commonwealth consisted in its men, — in a dense body of citizens, living not in a kind of close corporation, like the nine thousand Spartans of Lycurgus, who spent their time in idleness or in gymnastic and warlike exercises, but dispersed, and employed in varied occupations. He saw that, to support such a population, a life of

industry was absolutely essential; and he therefore encouraged manufactures, trades, arts, ornamental and useful. In this respect, starting from his wise legislation, Attica subsequently became not only the school of the fine arts and literature, but the workshop of Greece; and in nothing was her preeminence more marked than in the trades, handicrafts, and domestic manufactures, of which she set the example and furnished the models to all Greece.

The administration of justice was not so thoroughly organized in Solon's Constitution as it afterwards became. It was distributed among the archons, the Areopagus, and perhaps the court of the Ephetæ, which some believe to have been organized by him, though others refer it to a later period. We have not many details which can be fully trusted on this part of the Constitution; but we may believe that a fair trial, the right of defence, and exemption from arbitrary and individual caprice, were established principles of the judiciary system. The relations of domestic life were well guarded, and the marriage-bond was treated as sacred and inviolable.

As contrasted with the legislation of Lycurgus, I see everywhere among the fragments of Solon's system marks of a superior wisdom and a loftier humanity. They had different materials to work with; they both intended to adapt their institutions to the practical wants of the people; and they both had a ground-work of usages, customs, traditions, and establishments to build upon. But Solon comprehended the entire nature of man, — the forces and appetites of his body, the faculties of his mind, the wants of his social nature. He had nothing of what we call *isms* about him. In no one thing was he an extremist. In his character, more than most even of the Athenians, he embodied the admirable maxim, — so rarely practised upon in these later days, but wherever it is, wonderful in its results, — *μηδὲν ἄγαν*, — "nothing to excess"; and the same rule of just proportion runs through his legislation. When asked if he thought his laws the best possible, he answered modestly, but with the highest wisdom: "Not the best possible, but the

best the people will bear." So utterly free was he from the mischievous dreaming of the mere speculative reformer.

These institutions were the making of the Athenian Demos, — that brilliant personification of the poets, — that object of respect and terror, of admiration sometimes and sometimes of hatred, to those with whom it came in contact or conflict. Of the popular eloquence in Solon's time, nothing has reached us; but there were eloquent and brave men, doubtless, who made their words felt in the debates of the assembly and the senate, yet who never thought of recording them for the study of after ages. There were wise statesmen who knew how to guide the storm of popular passions, and to sway the agitated multitude; but they did it as a matter of course, which could be of no possible concern after the occasion had passed by. Yet a system of public life was set in motion in the old Athenian Agora and the Pnyx, which was to determine forever the principles of statesmanship and the forms of political eloquence. Solon could not have imagined the consequences that were to flow from the work he accomplished in the midst of the discords of Athens. In all the ages, in the minds of all men who believe in the reign of law, and not disorder; of humanity, and not barbarism; of culture, and not brutality; of cheerful and ingenious industry, and not insolent idleness; of progress, and not obstinate and unreasoning adherence to what was established in days of darkness, but cannot bear the light; of intelligent popular freedom, restrained, by the sober judgment of age and experience, from rushing into the perilous paths of license, — to all such, in all times, the name of Solon, the lawgiver of Athens, will remain dear and venerable, crowned with the imperishable glory of transcendent wisdom and the noblest virtue. In his institutions we find the germs of the Roman law and the common law; and — more surprising still — we find there the principles of parliamentary legislation, which are now incorporated into the constitution of legislative bodies in all free states. I doubt whether any other man has exercised so wide and beneficent an influence on the fortunes of civilized nations as Solon the Athenian.

LECTURE VI.

THE CONSTITUTION OF CLEISTHENES.

In the last Lecture I endeavored to give a sketch of the Constitution of Solon the Athenian, and of the personal character of the man. On both these points we have the authority of ancient writers, and to some extent documentary evidence. We can, therefore, form a tolerably distinct conception of the general drift of his legislation; we can discern at least the principles on which it was organized, and the tendencies which they must have taken in their historical development. The notices and anecdotes handed down by the ancients, and the fragments of his writings, give us, I think, a fair picture of his personal manners, his principles, and his habits; and few characters compare with his in attractiveness. As I walk the streets of Athens, I fancy I see his cheerful countenance and manly form, as he moves about the Agora, with kind and courteous salutations for the citizens, to whom his presence is like sunlight, — to many of whom he is the Saviour Apollo, who has rescued them from the horrors of bondage, and restored them to their humble, but now happy homes. He watches with ceaseless interest the busy mart, which his beneficent labors have reopened to commerce with its attendant train of public and private blessings; he pauses to watch the artisan at work, and cheers him on with friendly words, as he makes his way through the regenerated city. Quitting the narrow streets, he ascends the hill of Ares, and listens to the pleadings before the venerable court whose powers he has confirmed and enlarged. Wherever he goes, his approach is welcomed with smiles; and after strolling an hour or two about the city, and

gazing, with the pleasure a poet must always feel, upon the sunlit heights and shores of his beloved Attica, he returns to his modest house, no more costly than the dwellings of his neighbors, and resumes the studies in which his morning has been passed. As nightfall approaches, friends drop in, the triclinium is spread, a pleasant supper is served by prompt and willing servants, and the evening is spent in animated talk, with now and then a song, written by the statesman himself in the poetical fervor of his youth. It would not be surprising if temperate libations to Dionysus blamelessly gladdened the social hour. I wish we had his early poems, — the wine I should not care for, unless it was much better than the resinous potations in which his modern countrymen indulge.

The vision passes, and we go back to Hippias and the democracy of Athens. After the final downfall of the house of Peisistratus, two very able men came forward as competitors for the leadership in the commonwealth, Cleisthenes and Isagoras; — the former descended from one of the tyrants of Sicyon, of the same name, by the intermarriage of his daughter with Megacles; the latter also a man of noble descent, closely allied with Hippias, and with his Spartan supporters. Cleisthenes became the leader of the popular, and Isagoras of the oligarchical party. Cleisthenes was a friend and adherent of the Solonian Constitution; but with the increased tendency to more enlarged principles of popular government, he found that it needed to be remodelled in several important particulars. As the basis of the reconstructed commonwealth, he substituted for the old Ionian division into four tribes, which was not well suited to a growing people, a distribution of the citizens into ten tribes, which he named after ten of the ancient heroes, Erechtheis, Ægeis, Pandionis, Leontis, Acamantis, Œneis, Cecropis, Hippothoöntis, Æantis, and Antiochis. Very wisely, these tribes were not purely geographical. They were subdivided, each into ten districts or boroughs, called δῆμοι, — *demes*, — but singularly combined, so that the demes constituting a tribe were not contiguous to one another. The number of demes

was afterwards increased from one hundred to between a hundred and seventy and eighty, occupying the whole territory of Attica. In public documents the citizen's name was given, generally with the name of both the deme and the tribe to which he belonged, as well as the name of his father. The demes and tribes had their special organizations, — their deme officers and tribe officers, their feasts, sacred rites, public property, and the like; and every free and qualified citizen was entered on the lists, and could transfer the relations thus contracted, and relieve himself from the duties thus imposed, only by certain public ceremonies, by which he left the old society and was adopted into the new. The system of tribes regulated the new organization of the state, and carried out the democratic principle much more completely than the old order of things, inasmuch as it determined the number and the modes of election of most of the great political and executive bodies.

The nine archons were still retained. The duties of the archons were partly judicial. The Archon Eponymus had charge of orphans and heiresses; all the cases which arose in relation to their affairs came before him in the first instance; and if they were finally referred for decision to one of the courts, he presided. He received various informations and complaints against individuals, and prepared them for trial; and, finally, he superintended the Greater Dionysiac Festival, and the Thargelia in honor of Apollo and Artemis. The Archon Basileus, or king archon, was chiefly occupied in religious affairs, in which he represented the ancient kings in their function of high-priest. The Polemarch, as the name indicates, was originally the commander-in-chief of the army, and he served on the field as late as the battle of Marathon; afterwards, his duties were restricted to the home administration, and were especially connected with the resident aliens, to whom he stood in the same relation which the other archons bore to the citizens. The remaining six, the Thesmothetæ, were required to make an annual scrutiny of the laws, and, if any were found inconsistent with others, or redundant, to propose amendments.

They were also extensively concerned in the general administration of justice, and had charge of the preliminary proceedings in a great variety of cases. These magistrates were all elected from the highest-property class of Solon; but the office was afterwards thrown open to all the Athenian citizens.

There were two legislative bodies. 1. The *Ecclesia*, or popular assembly. The right to a membership of this body was carefully restricted to the citizens; and citizenship depended on birth from parents both Athenian, or on adoption. The adopted, however, though possessing the right of voting, could not become archons or priests. All citizens of full standing, whose names had been registered in the books of the demes, and who had been guilty of no infamous crime, were members of the Ecclesia from and after the age of twenty, and all had the right of speaking upon every question laid before them. The usual practice was for the herald, or public crier, to ask who of the citizens, more than fifty years of age, desired to address the people; and then to call upon any other citizen who had anything to say.

2. The *Boulé*, or senate. Solon's senate consisted, you will remember, of four hundred, taken from the four Ionic tribes. This arrangement was now changed; the number was raised to five hundred, fifty being drawn annually from each tribe. A substitute for every senator was drawn by lot, to take his place in case of the illness, inability, or degradation of the principal. All citizens, in full standing, of thirty years of age and upward, were capable of being drawn into the senate. The business of this body was to prepare the questions that were to come before the assembly. They also controlled the finances, and received foreign ministers. A bill might be proposed by a private citizen, he having first obtained, on petition, the privilege of appearing before the senate, with whose approval he could lay his proposition before the people. In fact, no law or decree could come before the assembly without having first been approved by the senate. The Boulé was divided into ten sections of fifty each, the members of which

were called *Prytaneis*, — or presidents, — because a member of them acted as presiding officer of the senate or assembly, the members from each tribe holding the office for thirty-five or thirty-six days, thus dividing the year into ten periods called *Prytanies*. The tribes exercised these functions in succession, the order being determined by lot. Every prytan body of fifty was divided into five committees of ten each; and its period of office into five of seven days each; so that ten prytans — called *πρόεδροι* (*proedri*) — divided between them the presidency for seven days. The president of the day was called the *Epistates*, and during his day he kept the public records and the seal of the city. In some cases of small importance, the senate could act definitively without the concurrence of the Ecclesia.

The business of legislation was therefore carried on by two bodies, each of which acted separately upon the matter in hand. The more select body originated the bill, while the Ecclesia could adopt the senate's measure in whole or in part, or could throw it out altogether, — both bodies exercising the largest freedom of discussion. It does not appear that it was necessary to send an amended bill back to the senate for their concurrence. This may perhaps be considered as an offset for the absence of the power of originating measures in the popular assembly. The principle established by this arrangement is the important one, that every legislative act must pass before two bodies differently constituted. There was no executive head endowed with the power of vetoing the enactments of the legislature. Sometimes the people instructed the senate to act finally on specific subjects, without bringing them before the Ecclesia. The senate also received *eisangeliæ*, or informations of extraordinary crimes against the state, for which no provision had been made by the laws. These cases — corresponding to the modern impeachment — might be dismissed by the senate, or referred for trial to one of the courts. It has been mentioned that the senate had the charge of the finances, in the administration of this department representing the exec-

utive power, while the legislative authority, regulating the amount of expenditure and determining the sources of the revenue, was vested in the popular assembly. The senate, says Boeckh, arranged the appropriation of the public money, even in trifling matters. The determination of the salary of the poets, the superintendence of the state cavalry, and the examination of the infirm maintained at the cost of the state, are specially mentioned among its duties. The public debts were also paid under its direction. The prytans met daily at the Prytaneum, or city-hall, where they dined together, and remained in readiness to receive any communication on public affairs. The senate-house was called the *Bouleuterion*, in which were chapels to *Zeus Boulaios*, the god of counsel, and to *Athene Boulaia*, the goddess of counsel, — in both of which prayers were offered before the business of the meeting was opened.

The meetings of these bodies were of two kinds, ordinary and extraordinary; — the former held on stated days, apparently four times in every prytany, those of the senate almost daily; the latter summoned on the occurrence of extraordinary or alarming events, requiring the immediate action of the government. On holidays, — and these were pretty frequent, — as on the saints' days of the Greek Church, — no business could be transacted, whether legislative or judicial. The popular assembly was held at first in the Agora, afterwards it was transferred to the Pnyx, and in later times it sometimes met in the great Dionysiac theatre. Extraordinary assemblies were occasionally convened at other places, even as far out of the city as the Peiræus. Meetings could be called by the prytans, or by the generals with the consent of the prytans or of the senate.

The pay of the senators was a drachma for every day on which they sat; of the ecclesiasts, at first an obol (between two and three cents), afterwards a three-obol piece. It seems probable that the richer class attended gratuitously, and that the fee was intended to enable the poorer citizens to perform their public duties without too much interruption and damage to their private affairs.

For the administration of justice, very careful provision was made in the amended Constitution. In early times there were five places where courts were held; and under the new Constitution the number was increased. A large amount of business was transacted by the courts of *Diætetœ*, or arbitrators, of whom there were two classes, public and private; — the former appointed by the people, probably four from each tribe, forty in all, taken by lot from the citizens over fifty years of age; the latter selected for each case by the parties concerned. The Areopagus exercised judicial functions in charges of murder, murderous assault, and other specified crimes of a heinous character; and as their powers were somewhat vague, under the general authority to exercise a censorial oversight, or to act as guardians of the laws and as superintendents of public order and decency, they could, especially in cases of great emergency, bring almost any subject or person within their official cognizance; so that it is not at all surprising that Pericles was anxious to limit the jurisdiction of this body.

The most important tribunal, however, and the one in which the citizens were most deeply concerned, was the Heliæa, or the Heliastic court. The word is an old one, in use among the Dorians, and by them applied to the public assembly. At Athens it was always used, at least after the time of Cleisthenes, for the great popular tribunal. The members of this court were drawn by lot, from the qualified citizens of the ten tribes over thirty years of age. They were chosen under the superintendence of the nine archons and their secretary, each of whom drew from the tribe assigned to him six hundred persons. The whole body amounted to six thousand, who were liable to be called upon as dicasts, or jurymen, during the year. They were divided, according to the tribes, into ten sections of five hundred each, leaving a thousand supernumeraries to fill vacancies or to attend to any unusual cases. All the members of each section belonged to the same tribe. The sections were designated by the first ten letters of the alphabet, from *A* to *K* inclusive. They sat in eight

or ten places, including some of the five places of the ancient courts. The *dicasteria*, or court-rooms, were painted of different colors, and each had a letter of the alphabet inscribed over the entrance. The portion of the court occupied by the members — that is, the dicasts, the parties in litigation, the advocates, and the presiding officer — was surrounded by a railing, outside of which there was room for spectators; and on opposite sides were stands — *bemata* — for the antagonist speakers. In ordinary matters, one section was considered sufficient for the adjudication of the cause; in extraordinary cases, sometimes two sections, sometimes three, were united. The judicial business was distributed among the courts, when there was more than one of them could attend to in a single day; and the arrangement of the sections was determined by lot. The first ten letters of the alphabet, representing the ten sections, were thrown into one urn; and the letters of the several dicasteria, with their distinctive colors, into another. A ticket, or letter, was then drawn from the first, which would designate the section, and one from the second, which would designate the court. For example, suppose that a number of cases were to be tried, and the letter Γ was drawn from the first urn, and a *yellow* Δ from the second, it determined that the Γ, or third section, was to sit in that one of the dicasteria which was marked with Δ, and painted yellow. If two sections were to be united, two letters, for instance Γ and K, were drawn from the first urn, and one from the second, — B, *red*, it may be, — signifying that the third and tenth sections were to sit together in the dicastery marked with B and painted red. Each individual received on his election a tablet with the letter of his section and his name, as a certificate of his appointment; and as he entered the court, a staff was presented to him as the emblem of his office, and a symbol, or ticket, which, on being presented at the proper place, entitled him to his Heliastic fee. This was a three-obol piece (a little over eight cents) for each cause he tried. The court was opened with religious ceremonies and the administration of a judicial oath.

Let me in this place remind you that the tribes and demes had their several boards of public functionaries, their local usages and associations, and their funds to be administered for local purposes. I must also explain a point of considerable importance, which should always be borne in mind in speaking of the Athenian institutions; and that is the peculiar relation that existed between Athens and Attica, between the capital and the country. While, of course, there was the usual difference between the permanent inhabitants of the city and the permanent inhabitants of the country, in manners, education, social usages, and the like, yet, politically speaking, every Attic was an Athenian. In other words, Athens, as the centre of political life, belonged as much to the free-born farmer beyond the Ilissus and the Cephissus, as to the city-bred gentleman who lounged daily in the Agora. The people in the country had as much right to attend the meetings of the assembly, and were as likely to be drawn into the senate and the dicasteries, as the people who were crowded in the narrow streets of the town. And when a great crisis arrived, it was customary to send notice among the rustic demes, so as to have as large a meeting as possible. Athens was the political homestead of all Attica. The magistrates appointed, whether by ballot or by lot, were as likely to come from the country as from the city. The fire was constantly kept burning in the Prytaneum, and the hearth of the Prytaneum was politically the hearth of the residents in Acharnæ and Sunium, no less than of the club-men of the Diomeian gate. The father of Demosthenes belonged to the deme of Pæania, of the tribe Pandionis, and the great statesman was born in Pæania, just at the entrance into the Mesogæa, where an old grim lion, without any hind legs, looks gravely upon the surrounding solitude; yet he was none the less entitled to his share in the associations and privileges of the civic fireside. The number of these local divisions, it has already been said, was finally not less than a hundred and seventy or eighty; the names of a hundred

and sixty-one of which were found by Dr. Ludwig Ross in inscriptions.

To return to the state boards of officers or magistrates, who were appointed by one of the two modes already indicated, — the basis of the election was generally the division into tribes, one magistrate representing each tribe. Next to the archons in the administration of the state were the ten generals, who were chosen by public vote, that is, by hand-vote. For this office certain special qualifications were required, which seem at first sight to have but little to do with military science. The candidates must be men living in honorable matrimony; they must possess landed property; like all the other magistrates, they were subjected to a rigid scrutiny, under which they must show that they possessed these qualifications in addition to common citizenship; and at the termination of the official period an equally rigid system of accountability, in closing the affairs of their administration, was enforced.

The archons were at first elected by hand-vote, but afterwards, and it would appear from the time of Cleisthenes, by lot. They, too, were subjected to the same law of scrutiny before entering upon office, and of accountability at the close. Many other offices were distributed by lot among those legally qualified; but the scrutiny and accountability diminished the objections that might be theoretically urged against this system, and the public was still further secured against the mischiefs that might have been anticipated from it by an additional provision that, at the commencement of each prytany, an incompetent or unfaithful officer might be referred to a public vote, and, if the charge were proved against him, might be degraded from his office.

The general principles of the new Constitution may be briefly stated as follows: — 1. The authority of the state was effectively lodged in the body of the people, by the extensive powers conferred on the popular assembly, especially in the later periods of the republic, when almost every subject, both of peace and war, came before it for final consideration.

2. The first check upon this power was found in the annual senate, which alone exercised the right of originating measures of government; but that check was again counterchecked by the right of the assembly to amend a proposition sent down by the senate, to reject it, or to substitute another on the same subject, without referring it again to the senate. 3. The second check, as in the Constitution of Solon, was found in the court of the Areopagus, which still consisted of those archons who had faithfully discharged the duties of their year of office, and who held their seats in this court for life. Aristotle calls this an oligarchical body, but not in a bad sense; though its power might be easily abused, and it would not have been easy to bring any member of it under the common laws of the state for a breach or abuse of trust. 4. The influence of the people was very profoundly felt in the courts of law, especially in the Heliastic courts, of which the members were so numerous that Plato classes them with other mobs. This mode of trial anticipated in part the principle of the jury trial. The dicasts, however, were judges and jurymen combined. They were called *Enomotoi* (*jurors*), sworn triers of the case before them; but they were not in theory the peers of the prisoner, standing to defend him from the government considered as the contending party; they were his peers, but at the same time they were a popular assembly, representing the sovereign people and exercising a function of government. The parties appeared before them, and argued their own cases to the best of their ability, often aided by the written arguments of others. They made their own statements, produced their own witnesses, hunted up the laws, had such passages as they thought applicable to their cases read by the secretary of the court, and the presiding officer never interfered. When the vote was to be taken, or, as we should say, the verdict rendered, the herald called upon those who thought the accused guilty to hold up their hands, which were counted; then those who thought him innocent did the same; and the votes of the majority decided the case.

Sometimes a ballot was taken, and black and white beans were cast into two urns, — the black for condemnation, the white for acquittal, — here, again, the major vote deciding the case. It is easy to see in this arrangement a sway of the popular will too open to the inroads of passion and prejudice to be always safe for the citizen or conducive to the ends of justice; yet the impartial student of history will acknowledge that the cases of gross wrong were few and at long intervals. Some there were which are terrible illustrations of the deadly force of popular prejudice and unreasoning fury, unchecked by the strong barrier of a learned and independent judiciary. 5. The power of the people was preserved by the principle of choice by lot, rather than by ballot, because this operated as a hindrance to the formation of parties in the state. There could be no organization to promote the election of such or such a man as Archon Eponymus, because he represented the principles of this or that party; there could be no caucus nominations, — no platform of principles — so called *per antiphrasin*, as the grammarians say — to be pulled down like other show-platforms when the exhibition is over. The Fortune which decided the question and placed the citizen in office was rigidly impartial, and no combination, coalition, compromise, bargain, corruption, promise, threat, availability, or other mysterious source of political influence, could swerve the goddess from her course. This was, perhaps, an advantage on the whole; and we find few complaints of the incompetency or unfaithfulness of the magistrates so elected. I know of no instance of an archon's having been displaced or degraded, and we have lists of several hundred of them. It was worth something to save the people from their friends, who do all their political thinking for them. Fortune was quite as good as a caucus, and a lot was as good as a platform; for Fortune and the lot always chose from among those who were legally and theoretically qualified, while the caucus and the platform are in the frequent habit of pitching upon those who are not qualified at all.

It is probable that the business transacted in the courts was of moderate extent at first; but with the rapidly unfolding power of the commonwealth, the number of cases of litigation was proportionally increased. The commercial relations of the Athenians were extended and complicated; the mechanic arts were numerous; while enlarged political power, from various circumstances, led to numerous entanglements with foreign cities and kingdoms. The Peiræus became the emporium of the world. A financial system of the most refined character was gradually formed with the increasing wants of the state. An extensive mercantile marine came into active operation. Questions on loans, securities, interest, contracts, guardianships; a complex system of port-duties; disputes as to temple-property, and the rights of temple-corporations therein; controversies between citizens of the allied states and citizens of Athens, which were carried up to the courts of Athens, — all these caused a rapid accumulation of business, which finally employed a large part of the citizens in daily attendance upon the dicasteries. The fees they received made it for their personal interest to multiply the cases as far and as fast as possible, and generated a love of litigation which, while it sharpened the intellect, was a dangerous enemy to regular industry, and undermined the moral character. The detestable race of public informers, making a business of getting up accusations — mostly false — against the citizens, especially those of the highest respectability, was bred by the public corruption into a miserable, mischievous, and contemptible existence. Sometimes the love of the law led to a kind of insanity, like that described by Sir Walter Scott in the character of Peter Peebles; and Aristophanes, with his customary skill, seized upon this frenzy for the subject of one of his most amusing comedies, "The Wasps," to which I made a cursory reference in a former course of Lectures.

The characters in this piece are drawn from the life, but are not individuals actually living, like the persons in "The Knights" and some other of the author's plays. The prin-

cipal *dramatis personæ* are Philocleon, an old dicast, and, as his name indicates, a friend of Cleon; his son, Bdelycleon, a hater of the demagogue; two servants, Sosias and Xanthias; a chorus of old dicasts, masquerading as gigantic wasps, with tails and stings significant of their vocation; three children, sons of Carcinus, represented by a practical pun on their father's name as young crabs; a dog, and a door-keeper. Philocleon has the dicastic disease in the most virulent form. The son, wiser than the father, and wearied out with his extravagances, tries to cure him. Finding argument of no avail, he shuts him up at home, and places sentinels to keep guard over him, and restrain him from attendance in the courts. Medicines are administered to him in vain; Corybantian rites are resorted to, with no better result. He tries to crawl out through the drain; to bore the wall; to ascend the chimney, where he is stopped only by clapping a lid over the top of it. Then he pretends that he desires to sell a donkey, and fastens himself under the ass's belly. He is discovered, torn away from his hiding-place, carried back into the house, and shut in with bolts and bars stronger than before. Something falls from the roof on the head of Sosias. It is a tile loosened from the roof by the old juryman, who has worked his way between the rafters. A troop of dicasts passing by to court, early in the morning, the old man is driven to madness, gnaws through the net they have spread over the house, and attempts to descend by a rope; but he is again caught, and the chorus of wasps are beaten off. They turn upon the young man, with a charge of tyranny. The old man declares that nothing but death shall separate him from the courts; and his son, discouraged by the hopelessly incurable character of the disease, surrenders, and promises to convert the house into a court of law for the administration of justice among the inmates. This idea is eagerly laid hold of by the old man, and is at once carried into execution. A little difficulty occurs at first in finding a case; but Xanthias is heard swearing at

"A graceless cur, a most atrocious cur,"

who has broken into the kitchen and eaten up a whole Sicilian cheese. The dog is Labes, — a name intended for Laches, a general who had been tried on a charge of peculation in Sicily. He — the dog — is immediately arrested, and the trial proceeds with all the forms of an Athenian court. Xanthias is accuser, and Bdelycleon is counsel for the prisoner at the bar, for whom he makes an eloquent speech, and resorts to the usual method of exciting pity by producing the wife and children of the accused. The puppies behave much like puppies, and are dismissed from the stand. The dog is acquitted, to the great distress of the dicast. Other modes of cure are resorted to. The old juryman is with difficulty persuaded to exchange his tattered cloak for a new one. He is taught how to eat and walk, to sing songs and take attitudes, like a gentleman. But he only rushes from one madness to another. He becomes intoxicated, and beats his slave; falls to leaping, dancing, and shouting; and, as one of the servants says, performs "all the antics of an ass over-stuffed with roasted barley." He abuses his son; gets into a quarrel with a baker-woman, beating her and overturning her bread-basket into the street; fights a man he encounters in one of his mad freaks, and is threatened with a suit for damages. At length he is dragged into the house by main force, where, hearing a flute, he is seized with a passion for dancing, and challenges every one to a trial. The challenge is accepted by the sons of Carcinus, who appear in the form of young crabs. The dance commences, the old crab (Carcinus) joins the madness of the hour, and the piece closes with a wild travesty of tragic and comic choral movements.

The moral and mental distemper which furnishes the groundwork of this fantastic piece has its type in human nature, under such circumstances as existed at Athens, and as exist wherever the spirit of litigation is fostered. Each of us, probably, can recall examples of it; but I have nowhere seen it so powerfully exhibited in literature as in this comedy. Philocleon is past cure; the only diversion to his madness is to turn it into other channels. In this consist the consummate art of

the poet, and the affecting moral — affecting in the midst of the most grotesque extravagances — which the comedy teaches and illustrates.

I have preferred to set forth the unhappy consequences which, in individual cases, followed from the extension of the judicial system of Cleisthenes, by citing the picture drawn by the Greek satirist, who was a keen observer of human nature, and thoroughly familiar with the working of the institutions of his country and the tendencies of his age. It must be remembered, however, that he was a satirist, and not a philosopher; and as such it was his business to exhibit, not the whole truth, but only such aspects of the truth as were capable of producing a comic effect by ludicrous exaggeration. There was a morbid state of the Attic mind, — the disease springing from an original weakness of character, but developed and made intense by the action of institutions, — but the mind was in the main good. We must not take caricature as history, but only as a vivid illustration of side-views of history. There were dangers in the judicial system of Athens; and the dicastic disease was one of them. Another and more serious danger was the risk of sacrificing the object of popular dislike to the passions of the hour, as was done in the case of Socrates. But with all these perils and morbid tendencies, the Attic process was open and above-board. There was no stealthy arrest; no hurrying to prison without remedy, or keeping in prison without end; no secret questioning; no hopeless concealment from the public eye. The arrest was in the broad day; the trial was in open court; fellow-citizens pronounced the verdict, after a defence in which all freedom of speech was allowed, and the accuser was confronted with the accused. In a long course of administration of private and public justice, the cases are very few in the history of the Attic courts where wrong was done or right was not done. That any occurred is lamentable; but the same may be said of courts of justice elsewhere. I think I may venture to affirm, that, in the variety of questions discussed, in the general soundness and

equity of the decisions, and in the ability with which the cases were argued, the history of the popular courts in Athens is honorable to the demos, and will compare favorably with that of any modern nation.

This leads me to a special ordinance in the Constitution of Cleisthenes, which I must utterly condemn, while I think I see the reasons that wrought on the legislator's mind in enacting it. I refer here to *ostracism*. It was a process known in principle to other states as well as to Athens. The purpose was to remove temporarily any citizen who, by wealth, ability, general influence, or aspiring character, might be thought by a considerable number of the people to be dangerous to the commonwealth. The words of Aristotle are: "Democratic states were accustomed to ostracize and remove from the city for a definite time those who appeared to be superior to their fellow-citizens, by reason of their wealth, the number of their friends, or any other means of influence." It is clear that it was meant to be applied to cases where no crime had been committed; and at Athens it worked no forfeiture of property and no personal disgrace. The experience of the Greek republics taught them the danger of usurpation, under a popular constitution. The true protection against the danger was to have a strong executive head, — a unit, — instead of scattering executive powers and responsibilities among many boards and individuals. But the law-makers, in their dread of concentrating powers in one person, were deterred from this course, thinking, perhaps, that such a magistrate might easily become a despot, — a view curiously illustrated by the present Constitution of the Swiss Republic, in which the members of the council of state hold in succession the office of President. The explanation given me by a statesman of that country was, that the makers of the Constitution were afraid that a President with a long tenure of office and full executive powers would soon be converted by the neighboring monarchies into a despot. Cleisthenes had witnessed the apparent ease with which the house of Peisistratus had risen

to power, and the difficulty with which that power had been overthrown. He probably thought, in the existing state of things, that danger to the government was still lurking in the unconstitutional desires of adherents of the tyrannical house, or of other ambitious members of the Eupatrid order; and reasoning upon past experience, he came to the conclusion that it would be easier and better to get rid of the dangerous individual before he should surround himself with the muniments of usurped power than afterwards, which, as he might have remembered, was the suggestion in Solon's warning verses. He probably thought, also, that he had sufficiently guarded ostracism from abuse; for he provided that the senate and assembly should first inquire whether such a step was necessary. If they decided in the affirmative, then the people were summoned to a general meeting in the Agora, — each bringing a bit of tile, — *ostracon*, — on which he wrote the name of the person whose banishment he desired. The nine archons and the presiding officers superintended the proceeding; and the citizen against whom six thousand bits of tile were deposited was ostracized. He was required to leave the city in ten days.

Mr. Grote, from whose judgment I do not think it ordinarily safe to differ on a question of Greek history or polity, approves of ostracism. To be banished for ten years without even the allegation of a crime could inflict no personal dishonor. It was a great hardship, no doubt, both to the victim and to his family. But he could return at the expiration of the time, resume his place as a citizen, take charge of his property, and all might go on as before. Yet ten years is a long time to be in exile, anywhere; for an Athenian to be away from Athens, on compulsion, for ten years, and all for no crime, was certainly a hard measure for being a well-born, wealthy, or otherwise distinguished or ambitious man, or for being, as was the case with Aristeides, universally called the *Just*. It might well be objected, also, that, where political rivalries were vehement and the passions ran high, such a mode

of removing a competitor offered too great a temptation to slander and all the base arts of secretly undermining the reputation. No doubt in practice this was the case. I question if there was ever an instance of a successful resort to this measure in any other way or for any other purpose. As might have been expected, the best men were in almost all cases the victims,—Themistocles, Aristeides, Cimon. It never was of any benefit to the state, and it generally did nothing but mischief. It would be enough to say, that it was unjust, and that injustice is always inexpedient, if the principle of justice were always recognized as the controlling and guiding rule in the formation of political institutions. The experience of the world, taken collectively, shows the evil and deadly consequences that inevitably flow from the incorporation of wrong into the fundamental law of a state. There is an Eternal Power which sends its retributions sooner or later, and re-establishes often on the ruins of ancient thrones and long-descended dynasties, and often on ground drenched with the blood of the innocent descendants of the original authors of the wrong, the immortal principle of justice. Ostracism, however, was not strong enough to maintain itself, and to require so solemn a catastrophe to end it. Two Athenian statesmen, Nicias and Alcibiades, united to ostracize Hyperbolus, a lamp-maker, a coarse and vulgar demagogue; and by ostracizing him they ostracized ostracism itself. From that time forth it was vulgar; it smelt of the lamp of Hyperbolus; it was unfit for a gentleman. If I had been an Athenian, I should have preferred to have had it abolished because it was wrong, rather than discontinued because it had grown vulgar; but I should have been glad to get rid of it in any way.

I have endeavored to point out the defects as well as the excellences of the Athenian Constitution. The latter greatly predominate over the former in number and weight. It was a marvellous piece of wisdom. It contains all the principles of free government, to which modern times have added only new applications and combinations. Legislation and the ad-

ministration of justice by the people or their representatives; legislation by two distinct bodies, insuring careful consideration before the enactment of laws; the administration of justice, through fair trial by equals, and in the open day, — these grand securities of liberty are the fundamental principles of the Constitution of Athens. Under that Constitution, she rose to power; she made for herself immortal renown in the world's history; she confronted the multitudinous hosts of Persia; she survived the Peloponnesian war; she survived the Macedonian conquest; she maintained herself as an integral part of the Roman Empire. Even through the Dark Ages, parts of her ancient Constitution — her magistrates and tribunals — still remained. Under the Turkish oppression, Athens still had her archons; and under the Constitution of 1843 she has her court of the Ephetæ, and her Areopagus before which, only a few years ago, an over-zealous classicist of the Athenian bar moved a reversal of the sentence of Socrates.

Thus vital and durable are human institutions, when founded on natural right, and animated by the spirit of liberty and of justice.

LECTURE VII.

THE PERSIAN WARS. — ORIGIN OF ATTIC ELOQUENCE. — PERICLES.

Lycurgus intended to make his people a brotherhood of warriors. His object was to keep them apart from other nations; of course, to repress the passions which lead to foreign conquest. But even his stringent *rhetræ* could not utterly subdue the nature of man. He did not count upon the effect of jealousy excited by the spectacle of others, living under different systems, and rising to power by different means. Athens is only a hundred and fifty miles from Sparta; and it was impossible for the Spartans to be indifferent to what was going forward in Athens. Sparta was the natural ally of despots and oligarchs everywhere. She was the natural ally of Peisistratus and Hippias and Hipparchus; and she sought every opportunity of interfering with the growth of a power like that of Athens, founded upon principles so alien from her own. Isagoras invoked the aid of Sparta against Cleisthenes. Through her influence, Cleisthenes was compelled to quit Athens, as one of the accursed family of the Alcmæonidæ. Cleomenes, the Spartan king, being despatched with a military force, entered Athens without resistance, and, having expelled seven hundred families, attempted to dissolve the Senate of Five Hundred, and to place the government under the control of three hundred adherents of Sparta. This was carrying matters with too high a hand. The people flew to arms. Cleomenes and Isagoras fled to the Acropolis, but were obliged to surrender in two days. They were allowed to withdraw; but their followers were slain. The exiles were

at once restored, and two results immediately followed: — 1. A feeling of hostility was created between the two states, never afterwards completely removed. 2. The free Constitution was more deeply rooted in the affection of the people by this unsuccessful attempt of domestic treason and foreign violence to overturn it.

Another attempt was made by sending a Peloponnesian army, under the command of both kings, into Attica. But the Corinthian allies, ascertaining the object of the expedition, denounced the enterprise; and Demaratus, the second Spartan king, agreeing with the Corinthians, the army broke up.

Not content with this, the Spartans called a congress of their allies to consult on the restoration of Hippias, whom they invited to be present. Again they found the proposition to restore the tyrant not well received. The Corinthian deputies expressed the general sense of the congress. "Surely," said they, "heaven and earth are about to change places, when you Spartans propose to set up in the cities that wicked and bloody thing called a tyrant. First try what it is for yourselves, at Sparta, and then force it upon others. If you persist in a scheme so wicked, know that the Corinthians will not second you." The Spartans were forced to abandon their unprincipled scheme; and Hippias went back to Sigeum in Asia to wait for better times, and to see what he could do by intriguing with the Persians. The Constitution, having weathered the storms that broke upon its early days, rapidly became the object of the devotion of the citizens; and in the short period — about eighteen years — which elapsed between these attempts of Sparta and the breaking out of the Persian war, all ranks of men, from the highest to the lowest, became ardently attached to the country and to its wise and beneficent institutions.

The Greek colonies in Asia Minor had been subjected to the Persian Empire. About 500 B. C., movements of revolt began to take place, especially among the Ionians, who naturally applied to their kinsmen, the Athenians, for support.

A fleet was despatched across the Ægean, and the troops, uniting with a strong Ionian force, marched upon Sardis, one of the principal cities of the Empire, to which they set fire; but being obliged to retreat before a superior army, they were overtaken on the way to Ephesus, and severely beaten. On hearing of this insult to his royal authority, Darius, the Persian king, fell into a paroxysm of rage, and made immediate preparations to put down the revolt, which had rapidly extended. Miletus was closely besieged, the Ionian fleet was defeated near Lade, the city was taken by storm, the men were mostly slain, and the women and children were carried into captivity in the interior of Asia. The downfall of Miletus, and the fate of its inhabitants, furnished the subject for a tragedy brought out at Athens in the following year by Phrynichus, which threw the audience into such convulsions of grief, that they fined the author a thousand drachmæ "for having recalled to them their own misfortunes." These events happened B. C. 495, and led to the complete subjugation of the Ionians to Persia.

Darius was not forgetful of what he regarded as the insolence of the Athenians in the burning of Sardis. He sent an army, B. C. 492, under the command of his son-in-law Mardonius, with orders to bring to Susa the Athenians who had insulted the authority of the great king. But the fleet was wrecked on the rocky coast of Athos, the land-troops were exhausted by fighting the Thracians, and he was obliged to lead back the shattered remnants of the host across the Hellespont. The king made preparations on a larger scale, and two years later sent a vast army under Datis and Artaphernes, who were commanded to burn Athens and Eretria to the ground, and to carry away the inhabitants into slavery. The Persians had seen enough of Mount Athos, and they now sailed across the Ægean and made for Eubœa. Eretria was soon reduced; and then, crossing over the narrow strip of sea, they landed on the immortal plain of Marathon. At Athens were three men, educated by her free institutions, who

were fully equal to the emergency, — Miltiades, Themistocles, and Aristeides, all of whom were chosen on the board of ten generals for that year, the people doubtless making this most judicious selection with reference to the threatened invasion. A courier was sent to Sparta to solicit assistance; but no assistance came in season. On religious grounds the Spartans were unwilling to march before the full moon, now some days off. But the Athenians immediately hurried over to Marathon. I need not recount the history of the memorable day which, under the auspices of the great Miltiades, made the name of that beautiful plain a rallying-cry for freedom and patriotism forever. The mound raised over the Athenians who fell there still stands on the field, and speaks to the soul with its eloquent associations in the midst of silence and solitude.

This decisive victory released the Greeks from fears of Persia for ten years. Athens went steadily forward as a free state, not without warm debates, and even discords, among her great men. Themistocles and Aristeides, after the death of Miltiades, were the most distinguished leaders. The peril of the Persian invasion had brought them to act harmoniously in the common cause of the country; but after the storm had swept by, they often differed, sometimes acrimoniously. Aristeides was a man of the most incorruptible virtue, so that he was popularly called the Just. Not only was it impossible to bend him from the straitest course of honor by any prospect of personal advantage, but even the interest of his country could not swerve him in the least. With these admirable qualities, he was at the same time, if one may venture to judge of a public man of two-and-twenty centuries ago, a little too rigid in his adherence to the old. He was averse to innovation, and did not sufficiently appreciate the universal fact that changes in manners, customs, occupations, and social usages are inevitable in every free people. His wish was to prevent the Athenians from rushing into such movements. He tried to hold them back. He preferred the simplicity of the earlier times, and dreaded the consequences of the love of novelty

under the stimulus of growing power at home and abroad. No doubt Young Athens soon began to regard him as an old conservative, though without losing confidence in his integrity. Themistocles, on the other hand, was a much more brilliant and versatile genius. He was for striking out new paths of honor and glory. In intuitive sagacity, unfailing invention, boldness in executing his plans, insight into the purposes of his enemies, and skill in thwarting them, he was one of the ablest statesmen of the ancient world. But he failed to make the same impression of honesty as his great rival. He could be wily, artful, perhaps a little tricky, upon occasion. He was not always open in his management. He had no objection to a bit of intrigue. He was an advocate of progress. He urged the Athenians to develop their maritime resources and to build fleets, — all against the advice of Aristeides. Looking back from this distance of time, we cannot but see that the counsel of Themistocles was the best, and that the Athenians were wise in following his leading rather than that of Aristeides.

These contrasts of character brought them into frequent collisions, and to some extent led to the formation of parties in the state. We have seen that the peculiar distribution of powers, administrative, political, and judicial, almost precluded the possibility of parties, in the modern sense of the word. The archons, the senators, and many other high officers, were chosen by lot from among the qualified citizens; there could therefore be no factions headed by any of these functionaries, and struggling for victory in the elections. Still, in every free country there will be certain general differences of opinion and tendency, which will bring like-thinking citizens together, and into opposition to other bodies similarly united in opinion. There will be in the community, for example, a class of men who will take their stand upon experience, and hold by what is established, — composed in great part of the sober, elderly, wealthy, well-born citizens; and there will be another class of restless, ardent, hopeful, ambitious men, or of those who have

their career to make or their fortunes to win, who will be eager for change, — for reform, or for what they call reform, — who will endeavor to overturn what is established, and to reconstruct institutions upon principles and theories hitherto untried. At Athens there was much of this; and the leaders of the more popular tendency were quite as often from the high-born and proud old families as from any other. The battles were fought on single questions in the senate and before the popular assembly. It was utterly impossible beforehand to count upon a majority, or to form anything more than a conjectural opinion before the vote was actually taken; and it would often happen that antagonists on one question would be found voting together on another. It may be added, that questions so discussed were less likely to be wrongly settled than in countries where the party lines are so drawn through the community, that the people look more to their political combinations and relations than to the absolute merits of the arguments addressed to them.

Such was the state of parties under the Constitution of Cleisthenes, when the next Persian invasion under Xerxes took place. His mighty preparations, continuing those which his father had commenced, excited a great commotion in Greece. Even Sparta laid aside her ancient exclusiveness, and united with Athens, in a congress at Corinth, in an attempt to bring about a union of the Greek states. But the formidable hosts of the invader paralyzed many of the states with terror, so hopeless did it seem to make any resistance. By far the larger number submitted to the first demand of the enemy, who insolently required of them to send him earth and water. Left almost alone, Sparta and Athens resolved to make a stand. At first they fixed on the Vale of Tempe; but Thermopylæ, farther south, was finally determined upon. I need not recapitulate the circumstances of the battle in which Leonidas and his three hundred fell. Their memory haunts the spot, as if they had trodden the narrow passage but yesterday. Never before nor afterwards did Dorian courage show so gloriously. In the

fragment of an Ode by Simonides the deeds of Leonidas are nobly celebrated: —

> "Of those who at Thermopylæ were slain,
> Glorious the doom and beautiful the lot;
> Their tomb an altar; men from tears refrain,
> To honor them, and praise, but mourn them not.
> Such sepulchre, nor drear decay
> Nor all-destroying time shall waste; this right have they.
> Within their grave the home-bred glory
> Of Greece was laid; this witness gives
> Leonidas the Spartan, in whose story
> A wreath of famous virtue ever lives."

The sea-fight of Artemisium, about the same time, left both fleets disabled, and furnished the prelude to the great defeat of Salamis, whither the Greeks retired and the Persians followed. And now again the selfish policy of the Dorians showed itself. Leaving the barbarians to pursue their way by land, they began to fortify the Corinthian Isthmus. The Athenians were obliged to transport their families to Salamis, Trœzen, and Ægina. Themistocles called in the aid of the Delphian oracle, which he caused to respond, "The divine Salamis will make women childless; but when all is lost, a wooden wall shall shelter the Athenians." The Persian army approached the city. The patriotic zeal of the inhabitants mounted with the occasion. The banished were recalled, — Aristeides on the proposition of his rival Themistocles. The members of the Areopagus contributed individually, and used their authority to procure funds, for the public service. The Persian host took possession of the city, desecrated and burned the temples, and put the few defenders who remained there to the sword. The barbarian fleet arrived at Phalerum, while the confederated fleets of Athens and Sparta were lying in the harbor of Salamis. The commanders of the Spartan and Corinthian contingents were on the point of deserting their position. In an angry debate, Themistocles warmly remonstrated against so unworthy a course; and, the Spartan Eurybiades being incensed at his words, and lifting his staff to strike him, Themistocles gave

the famous answer, "Strike, but hear." After all, the narrow and unpatriotic views of the Dorians were counteracted only by an artifice of Themistocles; and the battle of Salamis, which again crowned the Grecian arms with glory, was due to the skilful management of the Athenian general much more than to the bravery of the Dorians with whom he was associated. Æschylus, who was present in the conflict, gives in his play of "The Persians" a most animated description of it. The battle of Platæa, in which the Dorian states contributed an effective force, finished the Persian campaign in Greece; and the victory of Mycale, in Asia Minor, closed the war. In these momentous events we plainly see the working of the two sets of political institutions. The Spartans, brave on the field, were narrow and selfish in policy. When the first terror of the Persian invasion came over the country, and a majority of the states sent earth and water to the insolent barbarian, the spirit of Sparta was roused. She placed herself in the front rank. She covered herself with imperishable renown. But it was only the Athenian statesmen who discerned the true nature of the conflict, and understood the vital importance of a general resistance by the Hellenic race. Thermopylæ belongs to Sparta doubtless; but the great deliverance is the undying honor of Athens. It is due to her that the nascent civilization of Europe was not crushed under the conquering despotism of the Orientals.

The position which Athens so nobly maintained gave her a foremost rank after the storm had swept by. The city was rebuilt. Literature and art took a sudden spring forward. The tragedies of Æschylus, animated by the great thoughts which the Persian wars had aroused, taught, in the sublimest poetry, the noble lessons of justice, righteousness, and retribution for overbearing human pride. Athens was looked up to by the other states as their deliverer. She was the acknowledged head of a great confederacy, extending round the Ægean Sea and over the islands. She contracted to protect her allies with her naval power against any future attacks of the Persians,

and they agreed to furnish the pecuniary means, by a contribution which they left to the judgment of Aristeides the Just to apportion among them. Her prosperity advanced with rapid strides; and her institutions were imitated wherever the rights of men were decided by reason and not by force, as Isocrates truly claimed. A congress of deputies was organized, which met at Delos, where the common treasury of the confederacy was established; but from the beginning, although these deputies had in theory the disposal of the funds, Athens, the protecting city, really controlled the application of them. The union was called at first the Confederacy of Delos; the assessment was fixed at four hundred and sixty talents ($460,000), and was placed under the care of certain officers called *Hellenotamiæ*.

Though the old hostility between Themistocles and Aristeides had been temporarily suspended during the dangers of the Persian wars, and Aristeides had surrendered many of his former prejudices, — yielding perhaps to the necessity imposed on him by the democratic tendencies of the times, — it was revived when Themistocles, who had withstood the temptations of the hard times of war, fell before those of peace and prosperity. He was ostracized in his turn; but the fact of his being subjected to this punishment is in his favor, as showing that his enemies could not prove against him a strong case of criminality, though he was commonly accused of corruption and fraud in dealing with the confederated cities. It was in some measure due to the influence of Sparta, who bore a special grudge against the Athenian statesman, that he was driven into exile. He retired to Asia, where he was received with distinguished honors by the Persian king, who assigned to him the town of Magnesia for his residence. He died there at the age of sixty-five. His remains were said to have been secretly brought to Attica, and a tomb, the ruins of which still form a striking object on the right of the entrance into the harbor of Peiræus, was supposed to cover his body, — a most picturesque and fitting spot for him who founded the navy of Athens, and who, more than any other man, was entitled to the honor of the victory of

Salamis; for the monument overlooks the blue waters and the island where that great event took place. An ancient inscription commemorated the illustrious Athenian: —

> "By the sea's margin, on the watery strand,
> Thy monument, Themistocles, shall stand;
> By this direction, to thy native shore
> The merchant shall convey his freighted store;
> And when our fleets are summoned to the fight,
> Athens shall conquer with thy tomb in sight."

During the period which I have rapidly sketched, the statesmen of Athens guided the public counsels by the personal influence they wielded in the senate and the popular assembly. Open debate on every question of domestic or foreign policy, whether in peace or war, universally preceded legislation; and the great men, Cimon, Miltiades, Themistocles, were all obliged to maintain their ground by public speech. It was not necessary to the statesman to hold any office, in order to guide the policy of the state. Membership of the Ecclesia was to him what a seat in the House of Commons is in England, or a seat in the House of Representatives in the United States; there he made himself felt, and from the Bema his voice was heard controlling and directing the sovereign people. The statesman was often elected to offices; but these offices had nothing to do with his position as a statesman, except so far as the duties belonging to them took him off from the political deliberations in the assembly. The office of general was often filled even by poets, as Sophocles was once appointed commander in the Samian expedition, in which Pericles was his colleague. We do not hear that he performed any very brilliant martial exploits; but he made himself a pleasant companion to the officers and citizens, and doubtless took the opportunity of visiting the coast of Asia Minor and the plain of Troy; for about this time he brought out the splendid tragedy of "Ajax," the scene of which is laid on the Hellespontine shore.

I do not think it would be in the least degree correct to ascribe the origin of Attic eloquence to the development of the

Constitution, or to the growth of political and judicial business consequent on the extension of the confederacy. The Ionian had from the beginning the temperament of eloquence; and he established forms of life and of social intercourse eminently favorable to the arts of speech. His language was a marvellous instrument for every possible effect. Rich, sweet, flowing, flexible, and at the same time exact and precise in discrimination; sometimes soft and gentle as a summer breeze, again strong, grand, and mighty as the winter storm; reflecting every aspect of the most beautiful and lovely scenes in nature, and expressing every mood of the intellect, every affection of the heart, every relation of thought, with equal facility and completeness, — it adapted itself to the quick and varied movements of the Ionian mind, whether they manifested themselves in the sportive sallies of a bright imagination, or the rapid and vehement outbreaks of resentment, or the ardor of love, or the severest logic of the understanding. Doubtless there has never been such an instrument of thought — such an organ for every species of literary record, or for immediate impression by uttered speech — as the Ionian and Attic Greek. It is no exaggeration to say that Homer showed himself a consummate master of every species of eloquence. The ancient rhetoricians recognized this fact, and acknowledged him as their undisputed master. In the councils of the leaders at Troy; in the quarrel of Agamemnon and Achilles; in the visit of the chiefs to the tent of the angry hero; in the interview of Hector and Andromache; in the lamentations over the dead body of Hector; in the appeals to the courage of the soldiers on the eve of battle, — Homer undoubtedly proved himself to be not only the greatest poet of the world, but possessed of all the qualities and all the genius of the greatest orator. Every speech is suitable to the person who makes it, and fitted to the occasion on which it is made and to the audience to which it is addressed. Whether it be indignant denunciation or pathetic appeal, whether it be reasoning or exhortation, he is alike master of all the topics of persuasion, of all the arguments that can con-

vince, of all the words and thoughts that can touch the heart or satisfy the understanding. From the time of Solon, if not earlier, this treasury of eloquence was open to the Athenian youth. The poems of Homer were recited in public and studied in private; many an Athenian knew them by heart; and every Athenian regarded them as a kind of sacred scripture. By nature, by example, by the influence of political institutions, the Athenian was moulded into an orator. But during the growing period of Athenian power, the leading men thought more of action than of eloquence. Placed as they were, they had to spend their time and exercise their genius in devising plans for the public defence, in executing the decrees of the people, and in leading the troops to battle. The gift of speech was an instrument to effect the purpose of the moment, — not a means of securing fame for itself alone. Even Æschylus — the sublimest of tragic poets — thought more of Marathon and Salamis, than he did of the Prometheus or the Agamemnon.

The arts of eloquence, however, came much into request with the multiplication of causes in the courts, and with the enlargement of the political relations of Athens. Diplomatic intercourse with the other states was maintained by the living voice of the orators, sent on special missions to address the governments of those states. There were no diplomatic notes exchanged by resident ministers; there was the senate, or the assembly, or some similar body, to be met face to face in argument. It would not answer to send on such a mission any sensible man who might offer himself. He must be master of all the resources of reasoning and all the forms of speech, as well as familiar with the matter to be dealt with. The meetings of the deputies at the Amphictyonic assemblies also furnished occasions which demanded ready eloquence; and we accordingly find that the persons chosen to represent Athens, at least in the Amphictyonic Assembly at Delphi and Thermopylæ, were among the ablest debaters. The congresses of the confederates made similar demands upon the faculty of speech.

These congresses were held at Athens, at Delos, at Corinth, at Sparta; and the subjects discussed called out animated harangues from all the leading members. Even the Spartans could not well insist upon the universal adoption of their Laconic style. Once, when an Athenian ambassador had finished his oration to the assembly there, a Spartan rose and said, "I have forgotten the beginning of your speech, and I do not understand the end." But before the Peloponnesian war broke out, when it was necessary for the proud old Dorian city to take counsel with her allies, she had to submit to regular speeches, as we know from Thucydides, who records the substance of their debates. The conservative Spartans, no doubt, denounced the innovation, and groaned terribly over the flood of words and of new ideas that threatened to drown the Constitution of Lycurgus. But it was of no avail; the force of circumstances was stronger than even Spartan prejudices, and words carried the day.

The increased complication of the laws, and the variety of cases which came before the Attic courts, in the course of time required a class of men like the modern advocates. Properly speaking, there was no bar in Athens. The plaintiff and the defendant, the prosecutor and the accused, were compelled to appear personally and to argue the cases themselves. But it is evident that this could not always be done; and the parties in a suit or prosecution would resort for advice and aid to persons who were known or supposed to be familiar with the laws and skilful in preparing an argument. Thus a class of lawyers was called into existence by the wants of the public, which could not dispense with their aid. The counsellor sometimes prepared the speech, and his client delivered it in court. This method enabled the lawyer, if he chose, to get a double fee by writing on both sides, though it is to be presumed that this was seldom done. By degrees, the custom naturally arose for the party in the case to open his defence or his accusation in a brief speech, and then to ask permission of the court for his friend, who stood by him, to finish the argument. Many of

the extant speeches of the Attic orators were either not delivered at all by their authors, or were uttered only in continuation of an argument opened by the litigant. Demosthenes commenced his career by writing speeches for others, — a practice with which Æschines reproaches him, adding that he was guilty of betraying the arguments of his client to the opposite party, though of this there is not a particle of proof. The people sometimes appointed advocates to manage causes in which important public interests were at stake, or when a question in any way involving the city was to be argued before an Amphictyonic meeting. On one occasion Æschines was thus appointed; but the court of the Areopagus cancelled the appointment, on the ground of his being an unsuitable person to represent the city, and selected Hyperides to perform the duty. If the accused or the defendant was disabled from any cause, the court allowed the advocate to speak in his stead. Thus Miltiades, after his expedition to the island Paros, was impeached for treason; but having received a severe wound in the thigh, which made it necessary to bring him into court on a litter, his brother Tisagoras addressed the court in his behalf.

These few notices will, perhaps, be sufficient to give an idea of the position and functions of advocates at Athens, but not of their fees. The theory at the outset was, that the lawyer appearing for his friend should not take a fee; but so transcendental a doctrine probably never gained an extensive assent among the practical members of the profession. In point of fact, we know that large incomes were made by the able men — such as Isæus, Lysias, and Isocrates — who occupied themselves with this as the business of their lives. The public advocates received a drachma each for every case they managed; so that the honor of the appointment must have constituted the principal part of their fee.

In this state of things the art of rhetoric naturally began to enter into the education of a young man who aspired to become a leader in Athenian politics; and this was a career

which had resistless attractions for a large part of the Athenian youth. A class of public professors, or teachers, called Sophists, as being teachers of wisdom, had already appeared in Greece. The name includes men of the most opposite characters; and in judging of them, great injustice is sometimes done by not considering this fact. Some of them were philosophical teachers of the highest worth and accomplishments; while others, degenerate professors of wisdom, sought only to impart the false and glittering craft of tickling the fancy by a show of knowledge, without real knowledge, and of corrupting the heart by confounding good and evil, or teaching that pleasure is good and might is right. No doubt many young Athenians were led astray by the seductive arts of these men, — cheated by them into the belief that success in Athenian politics could be secured without the profound and life-long study which alone can make the true statesman. But we do not find such among the real leaders of the Athenian Demos.

Closely connected with the Sophists, and sharing their virtues as well as their vices, were the Rhetoricians. It is singular that the earliest scientific expositions of the principles of rhetoric should have been made by Sicilian Greeks. Corax and Tisias are named as the inventors — that is, the first authors of technical systems — of rhetoric; Gorgias of Leontini — known to the Athenians by his mission to the city and by subsequent visits there, known to fame by the noble Dialogue of Plato which bears his name — made improvements in the art; but it was in Athens, where practice preceded theory, and where theory was restrained by practice, that rhetoric, as a science, was completed and perfected. The Rhetoric of Aristotle is still the most profound and masterly rhetorical treatise extant.

The intellectual condition of the Athenians having reached this point, there appeared a young man who was destined, as statesman, orator, and ruler, to set his native city on the highest pinnacle of fame. In the Vatican there are several marble busts of a man of singular beauty of countenance,

united with a manly dignity, and an expression of power, which would arrest the spectator's gaze were no name inscribed upon the plinth. The head is always helmeted; but, though a skilful general, the eminent person whose features we look upon was most distinguished for his philosophical studies, his literary tastes, his majestic eloquence, his love and appreciation of art, his elegant manners, his profound conception of the duties of a statesman, and the unbending firmness with which he carried his patriotic plans into execution. We read the name, — it is Pericles, son of Xanthippus, the Athenian. We recall then the single weakness of the great man, who, on account of a slight disproportion in the height of his otherwise magnificent head, chose to go helmeted down to posterity, rather than to have it said, "What a pity the head of Pericles had that one little fault!" It is said that every man has his foibles. That of Pericles was harmless enough; but I have often wished to pull the helmet off, and see the princely man as he was seen by the friends who frequented the saloon of Aspasia. The helmet did not conceal the defect. The comic poets, eager for any topic of ridicule, did not spare the Olympian, as, in the midst of their sarcasms, they could not help calling him. By birth Pericles was among the noblest Athenians; his mother being a niece of Cleisthenes, and so connected with the princes of Sicyon. His fortune was ample, without being excessive. His youth was passed in careful preparation for the career of statesmanship, by a much wider range of literary and philosophical study than had before been customary. The ablest men of the age, in every department of culture, were employed, and all his hours were occupied in the most regular and intense devotion to the most elevating pursuits. Pythocleides instructed him in music, Damon in political science, Zeno of Elea in logic; but the great teacher who exercised the profoundest influence in moulding his character was Anaxagoras, — his guide, philosopher, and friend. Anaxagoras was the first speculative thinker who clearly announced the doctrine that the system of the universe

is the combination and arrangement of an intelligent First Cause; and his life and teachings were in harmony with this sublime conception.

By birth and association Pericles belonged to the popular party, although connected with so many of the Eupatrid families. He first appeared in public life in the year B. C. 469; and, carrying the industrious habits he had formed in the course of his education into his new pursuits, he devoted himself to them with the greatest assiduity. He was never seen lounging in the streets; he was never present at a convivial meeting but once, and that was on the occasion of the marriage of his nephew. He had but few intimate friends, and those among the best and most accomplished persons. He was constant in his attendance at the assembly, but was not over eager to mingle in every debate. Even the measures he desired to carry were often proposed by one or another of his adherents, while he reserved his own eloquence for great occasions. He never spoke without the most careful preparation; and in this respect he must be considered chronologically as the earliest of the Attic orators. Suidas states that he was the first man who ever spoke a written speech in the court, all before his time having extemporized. In the management of his fortune he was liberal, yet economical; for he would not have his integrity suspected, and he therefore would not attempt, with his moderate means, to rival the lavish expenditure of Cimon.

Pericles carried many measures which were denounced by the aristocratic party. He procured the passage of a law that the poorer citizens might receive two obols apiece for admittance to the dramatic exhibitions, in order that the whole people might share in the benefit of the representations which were connected with one of the oldest of their religious rites. I think that it is an injustice to Pericles to suppose that he merely desired to ingratiate himself with the people by promoting their amusements. It was no amusement to listen to a tragedy of Æschylus or Sophocles, — it was a great de-

light doubtless; but you might as well call it an amusement to hear the grandest sermon that Jeremy Taylor ever delivered, as to call it an amusement to go at five o'clock in the morning and hear the Agamemnon of Æschylus performed in the great Dionysiac Theatre at Athens. The people that could relish such a representation were not the coarse, illiterate, vulgar mob they are sometimes supposed to have been. It was Pericles, also, who procured laws for the payment of the Heliastic jurors and of other public servants, — measures whose obvious justice should have saved their author from the censures unthinkingly cast upon him. It was right that men should be paid for the work they did for the public. It was right that poor men should hear the grand teachings of Æschylus, as it is right that the poor should have the Gospel preached to them. That all these privileges were afterwards abused is true. The abuses are to be condemned, and the men who, perverting good things to evil uses, led the people astray, are to be condemned. Pericles, I think, was right. He carried out his principles steadily and consistently, from the beginning to the end.

He was not permitted, however, to go on without the usual political conflicts. Cimon was the leader opposed to him, as a defender of the more aristocratic system; but Pericles, though ordered to conduct an impeachment of his adversary, abstained from putting forth his power, and his opponent was acquitted. Next, he limited the somewhat indefinite jurisdiction of the Areopagus. For this attempt he was severely denounced, and even the austere genius of Æschylus came to the rescue of that ancient and venerable court. It was a bold thing to attempt; but the restriction of its irresponsible authority seems, so far as we can judge at this distance of time, to have been founded on wise policy. The ostracism of Cimon, which soon followed, was less justifiable, or rather was wholly unjustifiable; but Pericles repaired the wrong of a pernicious institution by soon afterwards proposing the decree for his recall.

Among the noblest conceptions of this great statesman was the plan he formed for uniting all the Greek states in a single powerful confederation. He moved a decree, inviting all the Greeks of Europe and Asia to send representatives to a congress to be held at Athens, for the discussion of a project for lasting peace and union among the Grecian states, together with the subordinate topics of rebuilding the temples left in ruins by the Persian invasion, and of securing freedom of navigation in the Grecian seas. Twenty men, selected from the most discreet citizens over fifty years of age, were sent among the states to urge the adoption of this plan. It is one of the sins for which the Dorian obstinacy and jealousy must answer at the bar of history, that they intrigued successfully to prevent the success of a scheme at once far-reaching, wise, and absolutely necessary, not only to the future welfare, but to the very safety of Greece. It was as if, when our fathers proposed to make a durable union, under a constitution which might forever secure internal peace and external prosperity, one half of the States, whose institutions were different from ours, had set themselves in opposition, and prevented the wisest and most fortunate scheme of government ever conceived by sage or enjoyed by freemen from being successfully carried into operation. Pericles must have learned the result of his nobly patriotic attempt with a foreboding soul. No one understood better than he the Spartan character and institutions, both of which he had profoundly studied and vigilantly watched. He saw that the only hope of averting a deadly war was by bringing Ionians and Dorians into a strong union, founded on common interests, and perpetuated by some central authority that could govern both and keep them from flying at each other's throats. It seems to me that Pericles has never had the honor he deserves for this most statesmanlike scheme, and for the deep insight which led him to comprehend all its importance; and I will add, that our own national experience offers the first thoroughly satisfactory commentary on the wisdom of the Athenian statesman.

Having failed in the project of a general union of the Greeks, he resolved to make Athens the most illustrious city in the world; and he fulfilled his resolution. He crowned the Acropolis with wonders of architecture which no other city has approached; he filled the temples and public squares with sculptures, whose fragments are the teachers of modern artists, as they gaze upon them with delight, wonder, and despair; he caused the masterpieces of tragedy and comedy to crowd the Dionysiac Theatre at the great festivals; and he connected his own name with the most important and brilliant period in the history of culture and civilization. He was moderate in his counsels, and always opposed extravagant schemes of foreign conquest. Had he lived longer, no Sicilian expedition would have decimated the youth of Athens, and sent the miserable survivors of a defeated army to die in the quarries of Syracuse.

His eloquence was always, not only stately, but effective. We have none of his speeches entire. Though written, and carefully polished, they have disappeared. Plutarch preserves a few passages, and Thucydides gives us three orations, at some length. "Ægina," said he in one of his harangues, "is the eye-sore of the Peiræus"; in another, "I see war advancing from the Peloponnesus." After the Samian expedition, in which he had led the Athenian arms to victory, he was appointed to deliver the eulogy on those who had fallen in battle. Of this Stesimbrotus has preserved the following sentences. "They have become immortal like the gods. We do not behold the gods in the body; but we know by the honors they receive, and the blessings they bestow, that they are immortal; and such is the condition of those who die for their country."

Aristophanes, in "The Acharnians," says: "Pericles the Olympian lightened, thundered, roused up all Greece." He was at the height of his influence when the war which he had seen advancing from the Peloponnesus burst upon Attica. The weight of his character and the grandeur of his eloquence

controlled the policy of the Athenians. Thucydides, as I have already mentioned, reports the substance of three of his addresses; — first, a masterly exposition of the necessity of resisting the Spartans, and of the resources of the Athenians; secondly, the funeral oration which he pronounced by public appointment over those who fell in the first year of the war, B. C. 431; and thirdly, his defence of himself before the people after the second invasion of Attica by the Peloponnesians. Of these the funeral oration has the greatest general interest. It is not only an elaborate eulogy upon the heroic dead, but a most able exhibition of the merits of the Constitution of Athens, her social life, and her claims, as tacitly contrasted with Sparta, to the leadership among the Hellenic commonwealths. Such a country, so liberal, so generous, so free, is entitled to the love of her children, and must be defended at the hazard of life itself. "We enjoy," said he, "a form of government which needs not to imitate the laws of neighboring states; for we are ourselves their model." He shows in what manner the Athenian institutions secured, not only equality of rights before the law, but a generous mutual confidence in the intercourse of private life, cherishing obedience to the magistrate, and a refined sense of honor which submitted to the unwritten laws of noble conduct, both from the self-respect of gentlemen and from a feeling of the shame justly attached to their violation by public opinion. He appeals to their patriotic pride in the great achievements of their ancestors and in their own deeds of valor.

Unhappily for Athens, in the second year of the war, the pestilence struck the city, sweeping off multitudes of the crowded population, and demoralizing the survivors. Pericles was bereaved of two of his sons, and of many relatives and friends; and a lingering fever, perhaps a broken heart, sent him to the tomb just at the moment when his great abilities and his unbending integrity were most needed by his country, overwhelmed by the calamities of war and pestilence. Thucydides draws his character in a few brief and pregnant

sentences, with which I close this Lecture. "During the whole time that he stood at the head of the state in peace, he governed it with moderation and watched over its safety. Under him it rose to the highest pitch of greatness. After the war broke out, it was seen that he had a true conception of its magnitude. After his death his foresight in relation to the war was still more clearly recognized. The cause of his influence was, that, powerful in dignity of character and wisdom, and having conspicuously shown himself the most incorruptible of men, he curbed the people freely, and led them, instead of being led by them. For he did not speak to gain their present favor, endeavoring to win power by unbecoming means; but he dared to brave their anger, while holding fast to his own dignity and honor. The Constitution was a democracy in name; but in fact it was the government of the most distinguished citizen."

LECTURE VIII.

GENIUS AND SERVICES OF PERICLES. — ATHENS IN THE TIMES OF PERICLES.

The life of Pericles offered tragical contrasts. Nobly born, splendidly endowed with intellectual gifts, educated in the most liberal manner in all the learning and accomplishments of the age, coming into public life in the early vigor of the Constitution which Cleisthenes had amended, with the favoring gales of popular applause, it seemed as if a fortunate and happy career lay open before him. By his wisdom and transcendent genius he governed Athens forty years. The ends he aimed at were his country's; his motives were noble; and the means by which he sought to carry out his plans were, for the most part, just and generous. He rose to distinction by the most legitimate means, — by the influence of genius, prudence, and integrity. Unlike Peisistratus, he had no armed retinue. He had resorted to no legerdemain to build his power on the basis of popular superstition. His political principles were liberal, but not radical; his political action was clear, decided, sagacious, but considerate and magnanimous. In the antagonism of public life he was never violent nor vindictive.

The treasury of Delos was removed to Athens in 461 B. C.; the contributions were raised from four hundred and sixty to six hundred talents, perhaps by adding new members to the confederacy; and Athens, by the force of circumstances, was placed in the position of an imperial or despot city. That she did not always exercise her power discreetly or generously is very certain. The Demos, like other despots, sometimes showed himself a tyrant, and made the subject cities, as he was

fond of regarding them, groan under his oppressions and exactions. Pericles restrained his excesses with a strong hand; and it was not until after that statesman's death that the worst of them were committed. But Pericles favored a system of public expenditure, the object of which was to make the city of Athens the most superb of capitals. The end was worthy of his profound genius and cultivated taste; but his political opponents censured the means to which he resorted. They opposed the removal of the treasure, which they said belonged to the confederacy, and not to Athens alone. It was answered, that, if Athens performed her part of the contract, and defended the states with her fleets, she had a right to do what she would with the treasure. They attacked his expenditures. Pericles offered to pay for the public works from his own fortune, if the people would allow his name to be inscribed upon them; but the people said, No: they were not going to be deprived of the glory of connecting their own fame with such magnificent works. They had been trained to appreciate the refinements of art; and they could not think of saving money at the cost of their artistical reputation. The treasury was running over. Gold in ingots, gold in coin, silver, — the income of the customs, and the contributions of the confederates, — solid metal, and not bank-notes, — fell upon the city like Danae's golden shower. And so they voted all that Pericles asked; and the Propylæa and the Parthenon and the Erechtheium went up, and the bronze Athene took her station, spear in hand, looking down on the city she protected.

Pericles had heavy trials to bear, besides the bitterness of political opposition. He married the divorced wife of Hipponicus, and the marriage was not fortunate. His oldest son, Xanthippus, was a graceless reprobate, and died of the pestilence. Paralus, his second son, was soon afterwards swept away by the same dread disease. Only one son was left, the son of Aspasia, whom Pericles had married after divorcing his first wife; but by the laws of Athens, this son — his mother being a foreigner — was not a legal citizen. The people, how-

ever, pitying the solitary condition of the illustrious statesman, voted the rights of citizenship to his son, and authorized him to take his father's name. Aspasia herself was brought before the courts on a criminal charge by one of his enemies; but the eloquence of Pericles successfully defended her. Anaxagoras, his noble friend and teacher, was prosecuted, and had to leave the city, to which he never returned. Pheidias, the sculptor, to whom Pericles was warmly attached, was charged with pilfering a part of the gold furnished to adorn the statue of the goddess. The ornaments were taken off and weighed; and the accusation was triumphantly refuted. The attack was renewed, on the frivolous accusation that he had introduced portraits of himself and Pericles in the sculptures on the shield of Athene, and he was thrown into prison. In all these encounters with adverse fortune and with enemies, the brilliant Athenian lost his self-possession but twice, — once when he was obliged to defend his wife before a court of his countrymen, and again when the pestilence struck down his second and favorite son. On his death-bed, while his friends standing about him were extolling his great achievements, he simply remarked, that he considered it his greatest glory that no Athenian citizen "had worn mourning on his account." It was not the memory of achievements on the field, or of his triumphs in the popular assembly, it was not even the Propylæa and the Parthenon, that came with consolation to his last hours; it was no earthly glory, no title to fame, on which his calm and clear mind dwelt in that supreme moment: it was the simple thought — a thought which few public men of the ancient world could truly entertain — that, in his long course of public administration, he had not shed a drop of human blood; and with this sublime tribute on his lips to the superior nobleness of the gentler virtues, the most illustrious Athenian of his age expired.

The prosperity which his great works brought to Athens in the encouragement of genius and in the demands for mechanical skill is vividly described in a passage of Plutarch. The

purchase and transportation of so many materials, whether from other parts of Attica or from more distant regions of Greece; the quarrying of the marbles of Pentelicus, Paros, Eleusis, and of the ruder material called the Peiraic stone, used often for floors and basements; the gold, silver, ivory, and brass; the different kinds of timber, much of which must have been brought from distant forests,— employed great numbers of contractors, and whole armies of artisans, who, working under the stimulus of good pay, and with an order and system which must have been admirably conceived and carried out in order to accomplish so much in so short a time, diffused an activity, contentment, and universal industry which Athens never saw before, and perhaps will never see again. If we judge by the results, and their permanent influence on the course of civilization, these few years, between the commencement of the public works of Pericles and the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war, must be considered as constituting one of the most important periods.

It was fortunate for Athens and for the world, that a man like Pheidias was found to co-operate with Pericles in carrying his plans into execution. The genius of this great artist, — at once various and sublime, — practical as if his whole life had been passed as a master workman, but with a fiery imagination that could reproduce the Homeric conception of the father of gods and men, — uniting rapidity of execution with exquisite finish, — this unrivalled genius for plastic art, unrivalled in all the ages that have passed since his day, was wonderfully, one may say providentially, adapted to the work for which Pericles summoned him. It was the union of these two extraordinary men that made the wonderful creations of that age possible. He was a little younger than Pericles, who had been in public life eight or nine years when Pheidias, having studied under Ageladas and Hegesias, began to be known. From this time, B. C. 460, to B. C. 432, every year was signalized by the production of works which are pronounced, by the unanimous consent of artists, the highest achievements of

the genius of man in sculpture and in every department of sculpture. One year before the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war this illustrious ornament of human nature died. He was spared the sight of the calamities which were impending over the city he had so adorned and honored. He heard the distant threatenings of the war, but saw not its approach; he witnessed not the dreadful scenes of the pestilence; and, above all, he did not live to mourn the death of the noblest of his friends, and to behold the desolation of that friend's household hearth. He died at the culminating moment of the glory of Athens, in the meridian light of his genius and the highest splendor of his fame.

What is there of the creations of Pheidias? What of the Athens of Pericles? To find the Athens of Pericles you must go to Rome, to Florence, to Munich, to Berlin, to Paris, to London. Especially, would you study the genius of Pheidias, you must give days and weeks and months to the Elgin marbles in the British Museum. There you will find colossal figures from the divine assemblies on the pediments of the Parthenon, — from the metopes, groups of the Centaurs and the Lapithæ, exploits of Theseus, and a large part of the Panathenaic procession, — all constituting the very flower of the Periclean age and of the genius of Pheidias. But Athens still stands; the Parthenon — venerable and touching in its ruins — still surmounts the Acropolis; the Propylæa still admit the traveller into the sacred enclosure, which contains myriads of fragments, each marked with some memorial phrase or some token of departed greatness. Epaminondas, in the assembly of the Thebans, said, as if he could by no other expression so strongly embody his patriotic hopes: "We must transport the Propylæa of the Acropolis of Athens, and place them in front of the Cadmeia." Demosthenes, in the following century, testified, in a fine passage in one of his orations: "The people were never inspired by the desire of wealth; but by the love of glory, as by nothing else. The proof is, that, having come into possession of greater treasures than all the rest of the Greeks,

they expended everything for honor. Contributing from their private resources, they shrank from no danger in the cause of glory. Therefore they have left us immortal possessions, — the memory of illustrious deeds, and the beauty of the works consecrated to them, — yonder Propylæa, the Parthenon, the porticos, the ship-houses." As he spoke, he pointed to the temples, porticos, and statues in the Agora around him; and above, on the ascent to the Acropolis, to the Propylæa, the flight of marble steps, the Doric front, the marble wall with five entrances, and the magnificent bronze gates, to the temple of Wingless Victory on the right, and, within, to the Athene Promachos, the Parthenon, the Erechtheium, and a city of heroes, demigods, and gods. Five centuries later, Plutarch, who was a frequent visitor in Athens, wrote: "These works appear, at the present moment, fresh and newly wrought; they seem to wear the bloom of perpetual youth, their glow untouched by time, as if they breathed the breath of immortality." Later still, Philostratus said: "The Propylæa and the Parthenon sufficed to gratify the aspirations of Pericles." And well they might have filled even his aspirations.

As so large a portion of these Lectures relates to Athens, — indeed, it is surprising how large a part of all our associations with Greece belong to Athens exclusively, — and as the scene of the remainder of the course, on the Orators of Greece, must necessarily be laid in Athens, I have thought it would not be unacceptable to take a walk round the present city, and see how much of the ancient Athens is still in Athens. The maps and diagrams before you will, I trust, give you as good an idea as you can have without going thither.

The visitor enters the Peiræus, where the foundations, and, in places, four or five courses of the ancient walls, may be traced round the harbor, which was closed by a chain thrown across it from opposite towers. The wall then continues round the Munychian hill, and encloses the beautiful little circular harbor of Munychia, where are the foundations of the ancient νεώσοικοι, — ship-houses, — with portions of the walls.

Passing through the Peiræus, just as we leave the town we find considerable portions of the *Long Walls;* but, on the way to Athens, not another trace.

[Most of the residue of this Lecture was given extemporaneously, from the author's fresh and vivid recollections of Athens. His manuscript from this point contains merely the names of the sites and ruins which he successively described, and the following paragraphs, which we print without attempting to supply the intervening blanks. — EDITOR.]

The Theseium is used as a museum of ancient sculptures. Many monumental *stelæ* of the most interesting character, with beautiful groups in low relief, and touching funereal inscriptions, are collected there. But the most curious and important marbles are a series of slabs, found (in 1834) in the Peiræus, containing records of the Athenian navy; lists of ships, with their names; inventories of rigging and furniture; names of shipbuilders; names of statesmen, such as Demades and Demosthenes, who were connected with the naval service; and numerous other interesting and valuable particulars. These inscriptions are very clearly cut, and, except where the marble has been broken, are easily read; and they cover a considerable portion of the public life of Demosthenes. The temple of Theseus, as we have already stated, is one of the best preserved buildings in Greece. It is of the Doric order, 104 feet in length by 45 in breadth. It has six columns at each end, and thirteen on each side, of 3 feet 4 inches in diameter, and 19 feet high. From the stylobate to the upper angle of the pediment, the height is 31 feet. The sculptures on the pediments are all lost. Those on the metopes are supposed to relate to the labors of Hercules and Theseus.

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Of the vast temple of Olympian Zeus, the platform on which it stood, and sixteen Corinthian columns, one of which was overthrown in 1852 by a hurricane, are all that remain. The peribolus of the temple was 680 feet long and 463 broad; the temple itself, 354 feet by 171. It had ten columns on each

front, and probably twenty on each side; the height from the pavement to the top of the capitals, 55 feet 3 inches; the diameter at the base, 6 feet 4 inches. The statue of the god was of ivory and gold.

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Near the theatre of Bacchus still stands the choragic monument of Lysicrates, erected on the Street of Tripods in 335 B. C., to commemorate a musical victory. It is a circular structure, eight feet in diameter, standing on a square base, its whole height being about thirty-four feet. It is the earliest specimen of Corinthian architecture. This exquisite little monument was saved from destruction by having been built into the walls of a monastery. The monastery is now in ruins; but the monument of Lysicrates stands almost complete. The tripod by which it was surmounted is gone, but the inscription on the architrave is still legible.

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But the noblest works of the Athenian architects were on the Acropolis. The ascent is at the western end. The chief buildings of the Periclean age on this citadel were the Propylæa, the Erechtheium, and the Parthenon. The Propylæa served at once as an architectural embellishment and a military defence of the Acropolis. Among the ancients they were more admired than even the Parthenon, for the skill with which the difficulties of the ground were overcome, and for the grandeur of the general effect. The approach was a flight of sixty marble steps, and was seventy feet broad. At the top of the steps was a portico of six fluted Doric columns, 5 feet in diameter, 29 feet high. Each of the side wings, on platforms 78 feet apart, had three Doric columns, fronting upon the grand staircase. The north wing contained the Pinacotheca, a hall 35 feet by 30; the hall of the south wing was 27 feet by 16. Behind the Doric hexastyle was a magnificent hall 60 feet broad, 44 feet deep, and 39 feet high, with a marble ceiling resting on enormous beams, supported by three Ionic columns on each side of the passage. At the east end of this hall was

the wall, through which there were five entrances, with doors or gates. The central opening, through which the Panathenaic procession passed, was 13 feet wide, 24 feet high; those next the central were, on each side, $9\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, and the smallest 5 feet, the height varying in proportion. These gates were the only public entrances into the Acropolis. Within the wall, on the eastern side, was another hall 19 feet deep, its floor elevated about $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet above the western side, and terminated by another Doric portico, of six columns. The pediments and ceilings of this admirable structure have been destroyed. Most of the columns remain, some of them entire, and others more or less broken, with heavy fragments of the architraves. Passing through the Propylæa, we come to the Erechtheium, on the left or northern side of the Acropolis, and the Parthenon on the right, near the southern or Cimonian wall. The form of the singular structure first mentioned was oblong, with a portico of six Ionic columns at the east end, a kind of transept at the west, a portico of four columns on the north, and the portico of the Caryatides, standing on a basement eight feet high, on the south. At the western end there is a basement, on which are four Ionic columns, only half detached from the wall, and supporting a pediment. The eastern and western divisions of the temple are on different levels, the eastern being eight feet higher than the western. Enough remains of this extraordinary and beautiful edifice to give a perfectly correct idea of its outward form; but the interior is in so ruinous a condition that the distribution and arrangement of the apartments are subject to the greatest doubt. The numerous antiquarian questions which suggest themselves here cannot be discussed in this place.

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We come now to the Parthenon, the noblest monument in Athens and in the world. The contrast between this temple and the Erechtheium is strikingly beautiful. We have already incidentally alluded to the principal points in its history, and the various fortunes in which it has shared. It was built of

Pentelic marble, under the superintendence of Pheidias, by Ictinus and Callicrates. It stands on a base approached by three steps, each 1 foot 9 inches high, and about 2 feet 4 inches wide. Its breadth, on the upper step, is 101.33 feet; its length, 228 feet; the height to the top of the pediment from the upper step of the stylobate is 59 feet, and with the stylobate, 64 feet. The temple is Doric, octostyle, or with eight columns at each end, and peripteral, or colonnaded all round, there being fifteen columns on each side, not counting those at the corners, — 46 in all. The length of the *sekos*, or body of the temple, is 193 feet, and its breadth 71 feet, omitting fractions. The space between the peristyle and the wall is nine feet at the sides, and eleven feet at the fronts. The interior is divided by a transverse wall into two unequal portions; the eastern being the *naos* proper, an apartment for the statue of the goddess, 98 feet in length; the western, the *opisthodomos*, having been commonly used as the treasury of the city, 43 feet long. Within the peristyle, at each end, were eight columns, 33 feet high, on a stylobate of two steps. Within the *naos* was a range of ten Doric columns on each side, and three at the west end, forming three sides of a quadrangle; above them, an architrave supported an upper range of columns, which Wheeler, at the time of whose visit they were still standing, calls a kind of gallery. Fourteen feet distant from the western columns is the pavement of Peiraic stone, on which the great chryselephantine statue of Athene was placed. Besides the internal decorations, the outside of the temple was ornamented with three classes of sculptures. 1. The sculptures of the pediments were independent statues resting upon the deep cornice. The subject of those on the eastern pediment was the birth of Athene; of those on the western, the contest between Poseidon and Athene, for the possession of Attica. 2. The groups on the metopes, ninety-two in number, represented combats of Hercules and Theseus, of the Centaurs and Amazons, and perhaps some figures of the Persian war. These groups were executed in high relief. 3. The frieze round the upper

border of the *cella* of the Parthenon contained a representation of the Panathenaic procession in low relief. All these sculptures were in the highest style of the art, executed either by Pheidias himself, or under his immediate direction. Most of them were in place when Wheeler visited Athens, in 1676; and drawings of the figures on the pediments were made, in 1674, by Carrey, a French architect in the suite of the Marquis de Nointel, Minister of France at the Porte. The interior of the temple was thrown down, in 1687, by the explosion of a bomb in the Turkish powder-magazine. The front columns of the peristyle escaped, but eight of the columns on the north side, and six of those on the south, were overthrown. Morosini, in endeavoring to remove some of the figures on the pediments, broke them, and otherwise did great mischief. At the beginning of the present century, Lord Elgin dismantled a considerable part of the Parthenon of the remaining sculptures, which form the most precious treasures of the British Museum at the present moment. A question has been much discussed, as to whether any portion of the exterior of the temple was decorated with painting. It is hardly possible to doubt the fact, after a personal examination. Many of the mouldings have traces of beautifully drawn patterns. Under the cornices, there are delicate tints of blue and red, and in the triglyphs, of blue. The architraves and broader surfaces were tinged with ochre. All these figures were executed so delicately and exquisitely, that it is impossible to accept the theory sometimes advanced, of their being the work of subsequent barbarous ages. There are other traces of colors on the inner surface of the portion of the walls still standing, which evidently belong to a period after the stone-cutters Eulogius and Apollos had converted the Parthenon into a church. Among the inscriptions there is one, found in 1836, containing a record of money paid for polychromatic decorations. The Parthenon was built in the best period of architecture, and under the inspiration of the highest genius in art; and the best results of science were united in producing its exquisite perfection. The

pathetic beauty of its decay is indescribable. The impression it makes is that of a solemn and wondrous harmony. Its aspect is simple; but scientific investigation has not yet exhausted its beauties and refinements. The combination of the most delicate architectural proportions with the sculptural compositions, of which enough of each class remains, after all the ruin wrought by time, and war, and barbarism, to give us a vivid idea of their admirable execution, — and the variety of these compositions, differing in character and size according to their position and subjects, but all relating to a central idea which harmonizes them, — must have been magnificent beyond description, when the temple first stood in its fresh glory under the sky of Attica. But delicacies of construction have not ceased to be discovered in this wonderful building. In 1837, Pennethorne, an English traveller, noticed the inclination of the columns. Hofer, Schaubart, and others, have examined the subject, and published their observations upon the inclination of the columns and the curved lines of the stylobate and architraves. Mr. Penrose, an English scholar and architect, visited Athens in 1845, and was afterward sent by the Society of Dilettanti to complete the investigations he had already commenced. The results were published in a spendid folio, in 1851. They may be briefly summed up thus. The lines which in ordinary architecture are straight, in the Doric temples at Athens are delicate curves. The edges of the steps and the lines of the entablatures are convex curves, lying in vertical planes, and nearly parallel, and the curves are conic sections, the middle of the stylobate rising several inches above the extremities. The external lines of the columns are curved also, forming a hyperbolic entasis. The axes of the columns incline inward, so that opposite pairs, if produced sufficiently far, would meet. The spaces of the inter-columniations, and the size of the capitals, vary slightly, according to their position. From the usual points of view, these variations and curves are not perceptible, but they produce by their combination the effect of perfect harmony and regularity, and the absence of these re-

finements is the cause of the universal failure of buildings constructed in modern times according to what have been supposed to be the principles of Hellenic architecture. This subject is treated by Mr. Penrose in detail, with remarkable precision; also by M. Beulé, in a learned work entitled *L'Acropole d'Athènes*, Paris, 1853–1855.

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I have endeavored, to the best of my ability, to reproduce for you Athens as she was in the days of her ancient glory. If I have but partially succeeded, it is not my fault, but the fault of Pericles. I have had considerable experience in conversing with the spirits of the departed, through those favored individuals called mediums. I have even been honored with a written communication from a distinguished Athenian dramatist, in English doggerel, the genuineness of which some sceptics had the hardihood to call in question. However that may be, in one of the spiritual circles I invoked the ghost of Pericles, and he was good enough to take possession of the organism of the medium. I put to him a series of questions about Athens in his time; but he had not only lost the knowledge of all that he had ever done during the forty years of his administration, but had even forgotten his mother tongue. I could only exclaim with Hamlet, "Alas! poor ghost!" — and turn again to my books.

LECTURE IX.

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR. — THE DEMOS. — ANTIPHON. — ANDOCIDES.

Pericles died in the midst of public calamities and private bereavements. He had striven in vain to establish a union among the Greeks, which would have secured them from foreign invasion and domestic war. Dorian obstinacy and narrow-mindedness were too much for his wise policy and far-reaching views. Spartan education and the institutions of Lycurgus were unsuited to participate in his enlightened scheme, and the consequences were inevitable. War advanced from the Peloponnesus, and arrested the public works of the great statesman and the prosperity of the Athenian empire. He had foreseen it; he was prepared to meet it; he laid his plans before the people, and they adopted them. He let the Spartans ravage the plain of Athens unopposed; he called in the people to the city, every foot of which was thronged; and when the Spartan invader spared his own estate, he sent out and burned his villa to the ground, to thwart the treacherous purpose of the enemy, who hoped to excite the suspicions of the citizens against him. He sent a fleet to ravage the coast of Peloponnesus, to show the invaders that the Athenian power was in their wooden walls, and that the laying waste of the plain, the cutting down of the trees, the destruction of the harvest, without a battle, did no harm that might not be easily repaired; while the seas were swept by Athenian ships, and the whole Peloponnesus lay undefended and helpless. It was a losing game for the Spartans, and Pericles was resolved to play it out. He resisted the popular discontent, and refused to call a meeting, well knowing that the citizens would vote to hurry forth tumultuously and

attack the invaders; for the Athenians were fond of country life, and were indignant to see from the walls their pleasant fields trampled by the rude soldiery and their houses reduced to smoking ruins. When the clamor became too great, Pericles addressed a public meeting, and calmly and ably defended his policy. But one thing he could not avert,—the pestilence. That dreadful visitor stalked through the streets, and the dead and dying were everywhere. The house of Pericles was desolate, and all his plans were overthrown. There was no great man to take his place. There were able men in Athens; but there was none who, by pre-eminent ability and weight of character, could keep the ship with strong hand on the course that Pericles had laid down. Party passions broke fiercely out; party leaders,—known as demagogues,—each with selfish aims, came into light when there was no Pericles to hold them in check. The popular assembly was the scene of their struggles; the courts were agitated by their pernicious influence. "Those who came after Pericles," says Thucydides, "being more on an equality with one another, and each eager to stand foremost, turned to the gratification of the people, and sacrificed to this the public interest." A lower and lower tone of public feeling among the best of the popular leaders became prevalent, and a lower style of address was adopted. Of demagogism, in the bad sense of the word, little had been seen before; but now a succession of low-bred, vulgar, and violent men had the opportunity of making themselves felt. The war became more and more savage. It was marked by the twofold horrors of civil strife and hatred of race;—civil strife, because, first, it was a war between different branches of the Hellenic stock; and secondly, because it gave rise to seditions and dissensions in the cities themselves which were gradually drawn into it;—hatred of race, because the contrasted institutions of the Spartans and Athenians made them almost two different races.

Thucydides says that he wrote his history, not for the purpose of present entertainment, but that it might be an eternal

acquisition. It was no boast on the part of that great writer. The profound exposition of the causes and consequences of that mortal strife, the clearness of the narrative, and the powerful historical painting, make his work the still unsurpassed production of the historic Muse. History is philosophy teaching by example. The example of the Peloponnesian war is one of terrible significance; and the philosophy of it is conveyed in a passage, a part of which I shall quote because it illustrates the inevitable effects of the war of angry and jealous commonwealths, clashing together, with no common government to hold them in check. It was only a few years after the struggle commenced, when the dreadful condition of things here described presented itself to the eye of the great historian, who was himself clothed with a military command in the early stages of the conflict.

"Afterwards," says the grave and profound writer, having first detailed the bloody feuds at Corcyra, "the whole Hellenic world was thrown into commotion. The leaders of the popular party called in the Athenians, those of the oligarchical party, the Lacedæmonians, feuds existing everywhere, ... each party forming alliances for the damage of its antagonists and its own security. Pretexts for summoning foreign aid were easily furnished to those who aimed to effect political changes. Many heavy calamities befell the states through these feuds, which happen, and always will happen, so long as the nature of man remains the same; greater or milder, and varying in their aspects, as variations of circumstances in each case arise. For in peace and prosperity both communities and individuals are better disposed, because they are not driven to intolerable necessities. But war, withdrawing the supplies of daily life, is a hard teacher, and subdues the passions of the many to the quality of present circumstances. Discord then reigned throughout the states. . . . . And they changed the customary meaning of words applied to things, according to the caprice of the moment; for reckless audacity was considered manly fidelity to party; prudent delay, fair-seeming cowardice;

moderation, the screen for feebleness. Headlong frenzy was set down to the account of manhood. The unrelenting man was trusted; whoever argued against him was suspected. He who plotted, if successful, was thought sagacious; he who counterplotted, still more so. He who used forethought that he might not need these resorts was charged with ruining his party and fearing its opponents. In a word, he was applauded who got the start of another, intending to do an injury, or who tempted one to do a wrong when he had no thought of doing it himself. And what was worse, kindred became less regarded than party, because party was readier for any deed of unscrupulous daring. For such combinations aim not at the benefit of the established institutions, but in their grasping spirit run counter to the lawful authorities. Their pledges to one another were sanctioned, not by the Divine law, but by their having together violated law. The cause of this state of things was the lust of power for purposes of rapacity and ambition, and the hot temper of those who were engaged in the conflict. Thus neither party held to sacred honor; but those were more highly spoken of who, under cover of plausible pretences, succeeded in effecting some purpose of hatred. The citizens who stood between the extremes, and belonged to neither, both parties endeavored to destroy. So every species of wickedness became established by these feuds all over the Hellenic world. Simplicity of character, wherein nobleness of nature most largely shares, being scoffed at, disappeared; and mutual opposition of feeling, with universal distrust, prevailed. For there were neither binding words nor solemn oaths to compose the strife. And for the most part, those who were meanest in understanding were the most successful; for, fearing their own deficiency and the ability of their adversaries, apprehensive lest they should be worsted in argument and eloquence, and outwitted by the intellectual superiority on the other side, they went audaciously on to deeds of violence; but their opponents, contemptuous in the presumption of foreknowledge, and not feeling the need of securing by action

what could be compassed by genius, the more easily perished undefended."

This state of things, this profound demoralization, was brought about by the discords in the several states consequent on the war. The dissensions in Corcyra began the dreadful strife; but it spread with the rapidity and the fatal effects of a pestilence. It was not only war between the Dorian and the Ionian, war between Sparta and Athens; it was a more pernicious war in the very vitals of every city that was drawn into the hurrying, headlong stream, — war which struck at the roots of patriotism and of civilization itself. And herein is to be found the ominous lesson, the warning voice, which will prove a prophet's voice so long as the nature of man remains the same. The chief events in the conflict were the brief peace of Nicias, eleven years after its commencement, 421 B. C.; the Sicilian expedition in 415 B. C., and its disastrous termination in 413 B. C.; the intrigues of Alcibiades; the oligarchical conspiracy at Athens, by which the Constitution was overthrown, and the government of the Four Hundred established with irresponsible power, in 411 B. C.; the overthrow of this oligarchy four months afterwards, and the restoration of the old Constitution, with the limitation of the franchise to five thousand; the death of Archeptolemus and of Antiphon the orator, leaders of the extreme wing of the oligarchical party; the appointment of Lysander as commander of the Lacedæmonian fleet; the battle of Arginusæ, in 406 B. C., and the deplorable event of the execution of the generals, one of whom was Pericles, the son of the great statesman; and finally, the battle of Ægospotami, in 405 B. C., in which the Athenians were utterly defeated, and four thousand prisoners, with the generals, put to death, by order of Lysander. This was the finishing blow. Athens was compelled to surrender at discretion, and to submit herself to the odious government of the Thirty Tyrants, whose short reign of six or seven months reads in history like one of the worst chapters of the French Revolution. The lists of the proscribed; the denun-

ciation of those who attempted to check the shedding of blood, and to inspire moderate counsels; the impeachment and leading away to death of accused persons, with only a mockery of the forms of justice, and sometimes not even that, — all these were only a prophecy of the reign of terror.

But the day of retribution swiftly came. Thrasybulus, an exile, with a few supporters, seized the pass of Phyle, where the old Hellenic fortress still stands in a most picturesque position, looking down on the plain of Athens and the distant Acropolis. Here assembled a body of brave men, resolved to rescue their unhappy country from the odious tyranny under which it was groaning. They were attacked in their strong hold by the troops of the Thirty, and repelled them. They marched down to the Peiræus, and took possession of the hill of Munychia. Again the oligarchy sent a force, with one of their own number, Critias, in command, to dislodge them. Again they were defeated, and Critias was slain. The oligarchy of the Thirty was changed to a government of Ten, who called on Sparta for aid; but the jealousies of the Spartans against their great commander, Lysander, paralyzed the operations at Athens. Thrasybulus and the exiles entered the city; a general amnesty was passed; the oligarchy was overthrown, the people restored, and the old Constitution, with all its forms, securities, and immunities, re-established.

Notwithstanding the exhaustion of this almost continuous war for eight and twenty years, complicated with internal dissensions, with all their demoralizing consequences, the free principles of the government of Athens, the genius of the race, and the elasticity of mind produced by the habit of parliamentary debate, by the open administration of justice, and by the general education of the people, were so conservative in their effects, that, after each internal revolution, the city rallied and returned to her old institutions. Pausanias, the Greek traveller of the second century, says, bearing witness to the general wisdom of the Athenian government: "We know of no other people who have elevated democracy. By it the

Athenians advanced to great prosperity; for they surpassed the other Hellenic races in native power of understanding, and were most obedient to the established laws."

But the period of the Peloponnesian war was intensely trying, both to the character and to the permanence of the institutions of the states generally,— of those of Athens, of course, in a peculiar degree; but Athens, though overthrown for the moment, rose again, and in the following age bore a brilliant part in the great struggle with Philip and Alexander. Even in the midst of the war, literature, to which the genius of Pericles had given so strong an impulse, continued to be cultivated. Æschylus died twenty-four years before the war broke out; but Sophocles was at the height of his splendid renown; Euripides, a little younger, shared with him the mastery of the tragic stage; Aristophanes began his brilliant dramatic career four years after the war commenced; and other men, of genius only inferior to theirs, in tragedy and comedy, appeared annually in competition for the honors of the dramatic victory and an inscription on a monument in the Street of the Tripods. Euripides died two years, and Sophocles one, before the surrender of Athens; but Aristophanes survived it, and continued his dramatic labors under the restored democracy. The most brilliant period of dramatic literature was therefore just in the midst of the Peloponnesian war.

But there is also another side to the picture. I have already alluded to the rise of the demagogues, after the death of Pericles. With all its excellent features, the Athenian Constitution opened to this pernicious class of men an unusually free career, especially at times when there were no statesmen of such undeniable superiority that these pestilent fellows, these disturbers of the state, could be kept in their proper place by wholesome fears, like dogs scourged into their kennels by their masters. At Athens a succession of such men, whose names have been immortalized by history and the comic Muse, made their appearance. There was Eucrates, a seller of flax; there was Lysicles, a sheep-dealer; and, most renowned of all,

there was Cleon, the leather-dresser. It was not that these men practised handicraft trades; but it was their ignorance, coarseness, and brutality that made them nuisances to the commonwealth. A man may be a leather-dresser, — as we all know by a beautiful example, — and yet be endowed with refined tastes, liberal culture, and the most delicate virtues. But Cleon was a cruel and vindictive man, a loud-voiced brawler and braggart, impudent and fearless. Even before the death of Pericles his influence began to be felt. The people were attracted by his ready speech, his rude wit, his adroit reasoning, and, most of all, by his power of vituperation. It was a new sensation to them to hear the characters of the ablest and best men traduced by this open-mouthed slanderer; and they applauded him for the entertainment. Beginning with applause, they ended with bringing themselves under his power. When a question was before them for decision, Cleon always clamored for blood, if blood was to be had. When the Mytilenæans, after their revolt, B. C. 427, had been subdued, in the debate on what disposition was to be made of them, he proposed to put all the men to death and to sell the women and children into slavery, — the innocent as well as the guilty. He carried the vote; and under the influence of this base demagogue, the Athenians came near committing a crime which would have been a blot on their history forever. A trireme was despatched with the bloody order to Paches, the commander of the fleet. But with the silence of night remorse entered the hearts of the people. Early in the morning another assembly was called, and the vote reversed. A second trireme was sent, and the rowers were promised large rewards if they arrived in season. By the most strenuous exertions, they reached the harbor of Mytilene just as Paches was preparing reluctantly to carry the previous orders into effect, and the bloody purpose of Cleon was thwarted.

This ought to have overthrown Cleon's influence forever. Thucydides describes him as at this time the most trusted by the people of all the public men. A whimsical turn of fortune,

a year or two later, gave this coward the reputation of a gallant warrior and a skilful general, as fortune sometimes seems to delight in favoring the most undeserving. During the siege of Sphacteria, which had been so long protracted that the people began to show ominous signs of dissatisfaction with their generals, Cleon was boastful and violent as usual in the assembly. "If I were general, I would have the Spartans here as prisoners in twenty days." Nicias, one of the generals, was present; and when some one said to the demagogue, "Why do you not go?" he offered to resign his office. It was the weakness of the Athenian people, that they could never resist a good joke. The idea of making a general out of the bragging and boisterous leather-dresser set the assembly into a roar. Cleon tried in vain to retract. He was a mere bully, and did not relish going to the scene of danger. He could talk and bluster on the bema; he could put the people up to any deed of blood; but as to risking his own precious person within reach of the Spartan sword and spear, it had never entered his thoughts, and he was most horribly frightened at the unpleasant prospect opened before him. The more blank he looked, the more determined the people became to thrust the unwelcome honor upon him. Go he must. Meantime Demosthenes, the general on the spot, had been vigorously pushing the siege; and when the new general arrived, everything was done, except actually taking the place. The assault was at once made; the place was carried; the flower of the Spartans were taken prisoners. Cleon immediately returned to Athens, and within twenty days, as he had boasted, he exhibited his captives to the gaping populace. His reputation as an irresistible warrior was now established; and three years later, he was thought the only man in all Athens competent to cope with Brasidas, the ablest and best of the Spartan generals, who was then manœuvring in the north. He was despatched; and the moment he came into the presence of his really distinguished antagonist, his utter unfitness for the command manifested itself. He was easily defeated and slain.

I have recapitulated these facts, partly to exhibit one aspect of Athenian demagogism, and partly to introduce the Attic Demos, and to illustrate the working of the free Constitution under the peculiar circumstances of the Peloponnesian war. It is no uncommon thing, in a free country, for the spirit of wit and fun to embody the leading characteristics of the nation in the person of an individual, with the ludicrous features greatly exaggerated for comic effect. Thus, the American nation figures under the name of Brother Jonathan, in the form of a lantern-jawed person, with long, straight hair, lank figure, and trousers half-way up to his knees. The British nation is personified as John Bull, a person quite the opposite of Brother Jonathan in all these particulars. But a personification much more striking in its verisimilitude is Demos, the representative of the people of Athens. In the histories and orations of Athenian writers, this conception was carried so far, that, in speaking of the overthrow of the popular government, a common phrase was, "Demos was overthrown"; in speaking of its restoration, "Demos was restored." Demos, — the people, — holding the assembly, and through that controlling nearly all the affairs of peace and war, appointing the numerous courts by detailing large bodies from his own number, and so administering justice, extending his conquests in every direction, and constituting himself the head of a mighty empire, — Demos made himself felt in so many ways in his collective capacity, that the personification was inevitable. Parrhasius, the painter, made a picture of this character, which, according to Pliny, embodied the expressions of fickleness, anger, injustice, inconstancy, placability, clemency, pity, boastfulness, haughtiness, humility, ferocity, fugacity, and several others; but how he managed in one picture to convey so much, Pliny does not inform us. This picture was painted about the time of which we are now speaking, soon after the close of the Peloponnesian war, or at all events within the period that includes the life of Aristophanes.

The plays of this great writer are of special value, as illus-

trations of the political side of Athenian life, if we always bear in mind, as I have intimated before in speaking of his representation of the dicastic passion, that he was a brilliant caricaturist, no more historical, but infinitely more witty, than Punch. I repeat the remark here, because I am going to give a brief sketch of a play of his, which handles Demos, and the demagogues, whether high or low. It is called the "Hippeis," or "Knights," and was brought out in 424 B. C., eight years after the commencement of the war. The chief personages of the drama are Demos, — a crusty old fellow living in the Pnyx, and so called Demos Pycnites, as if the Pnyx were a borough to which the man belonged, — irritable, jealous, easily cajoled, ready to believe the most enormous lies, and constantly having his pockets picked; Nicias and Demosthenes, two of the generals, one of whom caused Cleon to be sent in command to Sphacteria, and the other helped him take it, — here introduced in the character of servants or slaves to Demos, and shockingly ill-treated by the old gentleman; and Cleon, the leather-dresser, another slave lately bought from Paphlagonia, who, by his lying, coarseness, impudence, and boundless vulgarity, has secured the good graces of his master, and become the tyrant and terror of all his fellow-slaves. There is a chorus of knights, who sympathize with the condition of Nicias and Demosthenes, — the upper servants, representing the more aristocratic party in the state. Nicias, Demosthenes, and the knights, having been unsuccessful in maintaining their position by adhering to the men of their own rank in society, resolve to employ the tactics of their opponents, and to address themselves to the lowest passions, by pampering the vanity, flattering the ignorance, and adopting the prejudices of Demos, — in short, by dealing in slander and slang, until they have outslandered and outslanged the natural masters of these vulgar arts. Unable to manage Demos, and to counteract the designs of the leather-dresser, they form a conspiracy, and select from the market a coarser, more ignorant, more vulgar fellow than Cleon, — Agoracritus, the Sausage-

Seller, — of whom Mr. Frere remarks: "His breeding and education are described as having been similar to that of the younger Mr. Weller, in that admirable and most unvulgar exhibition of vulgar life, the Pickwick Papers." The piece is occupied with the struggles of these parties, in the kitchen of Demos, to gain the favor of the master of the house. When the Sausage-Seller is first saluted with profound respect by those who intend to make political use of him, he conducts himself very much as did Christopher Sly when told that he was a nobleman.

"DEMOSTHENES.

We must seek him out.

NICIAS.

But see there, where he comes!
Sent hither providentially as it were!

DEMOSTHENES.

O happy man! celestial sausage-seller!
Friend, guardian, and protector of us all!
Come forward; save your friends, and save the country.

SAUSAGE-SELLER.

Do you call me?

DEMOSTHENES.

Yes, we called to you, to announce
The high and happy destiny that awaits you.

NICIAS.

Come, now you should set him free from the encumbrance
Of his table and basket, and explain to him
The tenor and the purport of the oracle,
While I go back to watch the Paphlagonian. [*Exit* NICIAS.

DEMOSTHENES (*to the Sausage-Seller, gravely*).

Set these poor wares aside; and now — bow down
To the ground, and adore the powers of earth and heaven.

SAUSAGE-SELLER.

Heyday! Why, what do you mean?

DEMOSTHENES.

O happy man!
Unconscious of your glorious destiny, —

Now mean and unregarded, but to-morrow
The mightiest of the mighty, lord of Athens.

SAUSAGE-SELLER.

Come, master, what 's the use of making game?
Why can't you let me wash the guts and tripe,
And sell my sausages in peace and quiet?

DEMOSTHENES.

O simple mortal, cast those thoughts aside
Bid guts and tripe farewell! — Look there! — Behold
[*Pointing to the audience.*
The mighty assembled multitude before you!

SAUSAGE-SELLER (*with a grumble of indifference*).
I see them.

DEMOSTHENES.

You shall be their lord and master,
The sovereign and the ruler of them all,
Of the assemblies and tribunals, fleets and armies;
You shall trample down the senate under foot,
Confound and crush the generals and commanders,
Arrest, imprison, and confine in irons.

SAUSAGE-SELLER.

What! I?

DEMOSTHENES.

Yes, you yourself; there 's more to come,
Mount here; and from the trestles of your stall
Survey the subject islands circling round.

SAUSAGE-SELLER.

I see them.

DEMOSTHENES.

And all their ports and merchant-vessels?

SAUSAGE-SELLER.

Yes, all.

DEMOSTHENES.

Then are n't you a fortunate, happy man?
Are n't you content? — Come then for a further prospect.
Turn your right eye to Caria, and your left
To Chalcedon, and view them both together.

SAUSAGE-SELLER.

Will it do me good, d' you think, to learn to squint?

DEMOSTHENES.

Not so; but everything you see before you
Must be disposed of at your high discretion,
By sale or otherwise; for the oracle
Predestines you to sovereign power and greatness.

SAUSAGE-SELLER.

Are there any means of making a great man
Of a sausage-selling fellow such as I?

DEMOSTHENES.

The very means you have must make you so, —
Low breeding, vulgar birth, and impudence, —
These, these must make you what you 're meant to be.

SAUSAGE-SELLER.

I can't imagine that I 'm good for much.

DEMOSTHENES.

Alas! But why do you say so? — What 's the meaning
Of these misgivings? — I discern within you
A promise and an inward consciousness
Of greatness. Tell me truly; are you allied
To the families of gentry?

SAUSAGE-SELLER.

No, not I;
I 'm come from a common, ordinary kindred,
Of the lower order.

DEMOSTHENES.

What a happiness!
What a footing will it give you! What a groundwork
For confidence and favor at your outset!

SAUSAGE-SELLER.

But bless you! only consider my education!
I can but barely read — in a kind of a way.

DEMOSTHENES.

That makes against you, — the only thing against you, —
The being able to read, in any way;
For now no lead nor influence is allowed
To liberal arts or learned education,
But to the brutal, base, and under-bred.
Embrace then and hold fast the promises
Which the oracles of the gods announce to you."

After a little more encouragement, the Sausage-Seller gives up his apprehensions, enters the lists as a candidate for a place in the household of Demos, — for the kitchen cabinet is not an exclusively modern idea, — and, by a series of well-plied flatteries, makes rapid progress. He steals a hare-pie and offers it: —

> "Here 's a hare-pie, my dear own little Demos,
> A nice hare-pie I 've brought you! see, look here!"

Cleon, who is standing by, exclaims:

> "By Jove, the wretch has stolen it from me.
>
> SAUSAGE-SELLER.
>
> Just as you stole the prisoners at Pylos.
>
> DEMOS.
>
> How did you steal it? I beseech you, tell me.
>
> SAUSAGE-SELLER.
>
> The scheme and the suggestion were divine,
> The theft and the execution simply mine.
>
> CLEON.
>
> I took the trouble —
>
> SAUSAGE-SELLER.
>
> But I served it up.
>
> DEMOS.
>
> Well, he that brings the thing must get the thanks."

The competition goes on briskly. Demos is perplexed; but upon searching the chest of Cleon, and finding it full of all sorts of dainties filched from his own kitchen, while the Sausage-Seller's is wholly empty, — all this backed up by an oracle that points clearly to the Paphlagonian as the fated victim, — notwithstanding Cleon's declaration that he stole only for the public service, he turns him out. The Sausage-Seller, being asked what is to be done with the Leather-Dresser, says: —

> "He shall have my trade;
> With an exclusive sausage-selling patent
> To traffic openly at the city gates,
> To extend his wares with dogs' and asses' flesh,

With a privilege moreover to get drunk,
And bully among the rabble of the suburbs
And the ragamuffin waiters at the baths."

And Demos says to his new minister: —

"You 'll fill the seat
Which that unhappy villain held before.
Take this new robe, wear it, and follow me."

If we look at this representation in its proper light, — considering it as what it was meant to be, a caricature founded on truth, a bodily presentation and lively exaggeration of facts likely to come to the surface of political life in every free community, — we must pronounce it admirable; and we cannot help commending the genial good-humor of the Demos, who not only could bear to have his faults and foibles so unsparingly exposed, but had the sense to crown the brilliant author with a dramatic first prize, — a strong testimonial to the excellence of the piece. And it is excellent for the vigor of its impersonation, the impartial severity with which the lash is applied to the high as well as to the low, and the admirable wit with which the pretences of the Attic demagogue are exposed, and his utter selfishness held up to ridicule and reprobation.

In several other comedies the witty Athenian has touched upon the political relations of his times. The Peloponnesian war furnished the themes of "The Acharnians" and "Lysistrata," in both of which, with some coarseness in the former and a great deal in the latter, the men who were concerned in its civil and military transactions, and the transactions themselves, are handled with a masculine vigor and with infinite drollery.

To turn now to the culture of oratory in this period, I have no doubt that, besides the debates reported by Thucydides, several of which are of commanding interest, many occurred in the Ecclesia in Athens, and at the great crises of the war, in which high qualities of popular eloquence were exhibited, but of which we have no report at all. Alcibiades, though injured by an affected drawl and lisp, was a skilful intriguer, and upon

occasion an eloquent debater. Had his principles been equal to his genius, his name might have been set high among the highest; but he was a contemptible profligate, and his public conduct was as despicable as were his private morals. By turns general, traitor, popular favorite, and flying for his life, he had but one good impulse, — his affection for Socrates.

The Alexandrian critics established a canon of oratory, as of poetry; and the earliest name on their list of ten is Antiphon. This distinguished person was born at Rhamnus, a deme on the eastern side of Attica, B. C. 479. Educated by his father, who was a Sophist, he devoted himself to politics and the rhetorical art. He was involved in the intrigues of Alcibiades, and had much to do with establishing the oligarchy of the Four Hundred. Indeed, Thucydides affirms that it was he who drew up the plan of that short-lived government. His personal character was free from blemish, and he was a man of courage and resolute will. Thucydides seems to have formed a high opinion of him. "He was a man," says he, "inferior to none of his contemporaries in virtue, and distinguished above all others in forming plans, and recommending his views by his oratory." He made no public speeches, indeed, nor did he ever of his own accord engage in the litigation of the courts; but though he was suspected by the people on account of his high reputation, there was no one in Athens who was better able to assist by his counsels those who had any contest to wage, whether in the law courts or before the popular assemblies. When, after the downfall of the Four Hundred, he was tried for his life as having been a party to the establishment of the oligarchy, it is acknowledged that the speech which he made in his own defence was the best that had ever been made up to that time. The decree of the Senate is preserved, ordering the arrest and trial of Antiphon and several associates for treason, on the charge of having visited Sparta for purposes hostile to the Demos, and directing certain persons to act as accusers. This is followed by the record of the sentence, that they be handed over to the Eleven, their property confis-

cated, their houses razed to the ground, their descendants devested of the rights of citizenship, and their bodies deprived of burial at Athens. The terms of the sentence show clearly enough the influence of popular passion, which had not yet subsided after the overthrow of the Four Hundred. There is but little doubt of his technical guilt; but to punish as treason all participation in a revolutionary movement at such a time looks more like the fierceness of private revenge than the calm administration of justice. I regret much that we have not the speech, which excited the admiration of so good a judge as Thucydides. I have no doubt it was far superior to any of his speeches that have come down to us. These show ability, subtilty, and great command of the language of argument; but, being composed for others, they have not the passionate earnestness inspired by personal danger. An able man, long practised in the arts of rhetoric and argument, speaking for his life, and conscious of no moral guilt, is quite a different person from the same man putting together ingenious arguments in the case of a client, especially if he is not to deliver them himself.

The proper business of his life was the writing of speeches, which with him first became an important business; though indeed it had been practised before, and always remained a necessary avocation, as I have already explained. He also established a school of rhetoric, in which the arts of composition and of speaking were systematically taught. Like the older Sophists, he took up general subjects as practical exercises. There are fifteen of his speeches remaining, and of these twelve belong to the species of rhetorical exercises. They are in the form of tetralogies, each tetralogy containing a speech and a reply of the plaintiff and the defendant. The first tetralogy is on the supposed case of a citizen returning with his slave from a supper party, and slain by assassins. The slave, though mortally wounded, lives long enough to inform the family that he recognized among the murderers a man who was at enmity with his master, and who was about losing an important case pending between him and the murdered person.

The man is indicted, and the speeches, of course, turn on the probabilities of the case. An element in the estimation of the evidence is the Greek notion, that the testimony of a slave is of no value unless he is first put to the torture. The arguments on both sides are extremely acute, and show the subtilty and skill of the writer in a remarkable manner.

The second tetralogy is upon a question of involuntary or accidental homicide. Two boys were throwing javelins in a gymnasium. It happened that, just as one had hurled his weapon, the other ran within the range of the missile, and was killed. The father of the deceased prosecutes the one who threw the missile as a homicide; the other transfers the blame to him who put himself in the way of being hit. The issue is joined upon the question which is the guilty party. The case is a little like that so ably argued by the grave-digger in Hamlet; but it is not without its interest, especially in illustrating the power of the Greek language in drawing nice distinctions. The arguments are short, and the exercise is a very good one.

The third tetralogy puts this case. A young man and an old man fight together. The young man hits harder than the old one, and the latter dies. The young man is accused of murder. He defends himself by turning the charge of having commenced the wrong upon his antagonist. The plea is technically called an *ἀντέγκλημα*, or *counter-charge*, the accused arguing that he slew his antagonist in self-defence. Moreover, he did not kill him at all; for the man did not die immediately, but many days afterward. He died because of the blundering of an unskilful surgeon whom he had called in, not on account of the blows. Yet more, he died by his own rashness, having been forewarned by other physicians, that, if he submitted to such a treatment, though curable, he would die. But if any man supposes that the death resulted from the blows, and that he who inflicted them is the murderer, let him consider that the blows first inflicted by the beginner of the wrong constitute him, and not the striker of the blows that

proved fatal, the cause of the death. The accusers are really guilty of the crimes they charge upon the accused; "for," he argues, "they have plotted my death, when I am innocent; endeavoring to take away my life, which is the gift of God. They are impious towards God; and unjustly plotting my death, they confound the principles of the laws, and become my murderers; and by trying to persuade you (the dicasts) to take my life, they become the murderers of your reputation for piety."

In addition to these exercises there are three of this orator's speeches, written upon real cases, and delivered in court. One is the accusation of a step-mother for poisoning her husband. This contains, in the statement of the case, an excellent specimen of simple and perspicuous narrative. The story of the poisoning is extremely well told; and the argument upon the circumstances is subtile and acute. It was delivered by the son of the murdered man. The issue is technically called στοχασμός, — or *conjecture*, — that is, probability from circumstantial evidence. One of the arguments against the accused is that she had refused to give her slaves up to the torture.

The second of these speeches is the defence of a man from Mytilene, named Elos, who made a voyage with Herodes to Ænos. When they reached Methymna, in Lesbos, they took passage in another vessel. Herodes went ashore in the evening, and never appeared again. On the return of Elos alone, the relatives of Herodes indicted him for murder. The defence begins by excepting to the indictment, alleging that robbers and thieves are malefactors, and that the prosecutor has not shown that Elos had been guilty of any act that would bring him under this category. He then proceeds to a general defence. He gives a very lucid statement of the facts of the case, puts in the testimony of witnesses, and founds his defence upon a careful induction from these facts. It is remarkable that, in reply to the testimony of a slave against him, he argues exactly as we should argue now against the value of this kind of evidence. "Before he was placed upon the wheel, and

until he was reduced to the last necessity, the man persisted in declaring my innocence; when he could bear it no longer, he gave false witness against me, in order to be released from the torture; and when he rested from the torture, he again declared that I was not guilty, and bemoaned me and himself as the victims of injustice, — not through any desire to favor me, — how could that be, when he had borne false witness against me? — but because he was compelled by the facts to confirm the truth of his first statements." One would suppose that such an incident and so conclusive an argument would have abolished the barbarous practice of torturing slaves.

The last speech is the defence of a choregus on a charge of murder, under the following circumstances. The choregus was the person who was called upon to train a chorus, — one of the expensive public duties, or *liturgies*. The person in question had at his own house the young men who were in training for the festival. One of them swallowed some kind of poison, to make his voice clearer, and lost his life by it. The father of the boy prosecutes the choregus on a charge of murder. The accused denies the charge. The evidence is only circumstantial. The statement of facts here also is in excellent style. It has a special interest as illustrating incidentally many points connected with the Athenian system of *liturgies*, and especially the training for the musical and dramatic contests.

It is said that Thucydides the historian was taught in the school of Antiphon. This is likely to have been the case. The general manner of the speeches in the historian resembles that of the speeches of the orator. There is the same vigor and subtilty of thought, with some lack of ease and fluency in diction, but at the same time with great accuracy of expression, as shown in nice distinctions often drawn between words apparently synonymous. In arrangement of ideas Antiphon shows wonderful skill; yet it must be confessed that the artifices of style are sometimes carried too far for the best effects of practical oratory. The balancing of clauses, the recurrence of similar sounds and like endings, the antitheses, and other figures

of diction, show that the rhetorical style was not yet equally adapted to the highest literary standard, and to direct influence on living men upon questions that came home to their business and bosoms.

The next orator in the canon is Andocides, the son of Leogoras, born of a noble Athenian family, and destined from his youth to a public career. He was early employed as a commander, then as ambassador on several missions. His public career was unfortunately arrested by his being involved in the trials for mutilating the Hermæ — a transaction which excited in the highest degree the superstitious fears of the Athenians — in 415 B. C. He narrowly escaped death, partly by taking an active lead in denouncing others, — not a very honorable mode of escape, — and partly by exiling himself to avoid the probable *atimia*, or degradation, which would have been perhaps the smallest penalty to be expected in the fanatical terror which filled the community. He left Athens, and engaged in foreign commerce. When the oligarchy of the Four Hundred was established, he returned; but the sudden fall of that government again drove him from the city. He repaired again to Athens, but could not safely remain. He withdrew to Elis, and did not venture another return until the overthrow of the Thirty, when he came back under the protection of the general amnesty. He rose again to important political influence; but his former enemies, resolved on his ruin, revived an old charge that he had profaned the Mysteries of Eleusis. Against this charge he defended himself successfully. Some years later he was sent on an embassy to Sparta, B. C. 394; but the results of his mission were so unsatisfactory that the Athenians banished him, and he died in exile. Such were the vicissitudes of a public life at Athens in those troublous times. There are only three of his speeches remaining; — one on his return from exile; the second, his defence on the accusation of having profaned the Mysteries; and the third, delivered in 392 B. C., on the peace with Sparta. There is another speech — that against Alcibiades — usually printed under his

name, but which the critics have pronounced spurious. The oration on the Peace was also questioned by Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

It seems to me, notwithstanding what some of the critics have said in depreciation of Andocides as compared with Antiphon, that he was, if not as subtile, at least as able. His narrative is as clear and precise; his arguments, standing on broader grounds, are more readily comprehended; his style has fewer mere rhetorical figures; he understands better how to make an appeal to his judges in a natural and effective manner; and he is, in all respects, a more pleasing writer. I will read a few sentences from his defence on the charge of profaning the Mysteries. In answer to the suggestion that he ought not to have returned from Cyprus, where he was leading a prosperous and happy life, to take the hazards of his unpopularity at Athens, he says, I think, with a skilful appreciation of the feelings of an Attic court: — "I hold, gentlemen, an opinion very different from theirs. A life elsewhere, enjoying every blessing, but deprived of my country, I would not accept, even were the city as hostile to me as my enemies assert. I should greatly prefer to be a citizen of Athens rather than of other cities, which seem to me, perhaps, at the present moment, to be very fortunate. Thinking thus, I have committed my life to your hands. I pray you, gentlemen, to grant to me, the defendant, a more favoring mind than to my accusers, knowing that, although you listen impartially, the defendant is necessarily at a disadvantage. They, having long conspired, and organized their attack, themselves out of the reach of danger, make the accusation. I make my defence with fear and peril, and under the heaviest calumny. It is reasonable, therefore, that you should accord to me a more favoring mind than to my accusers." In my judgment, this passage, as well as many others, shows uncommon skill in dealing with a jury.

In the speech vindicating the peace with Sparta, the topics appear to me to be admirably arranged and powerfully urged. Some one had argued that peace with Sparta would work the

overthrow of the people. He replies by recapitulating the blessings which had come to the Athenian people, in former times, from peace. "It is your duty, men of Athens, to use the past as evidence of the future. When we were at war in Eubœa, and possessed Megara and Pegæ and Trœzen, we desired peace. We recalled the ostracized Miltiades, the son of Cimon, then in Chersonesus, for no other reason than, as he was a friend of the Spartans, that we might send him to them to offer terms of peace. And then we had peace; and in that peace were the people of the Athenians overthrown? No man can say so; but I will tell you what benefits flowed from that peace. First, we enclosed the Peiræus with defences, and built the northern long wall. Next, in place of the old and unseaworthy ships, with which we defeated the King and his barbarians, and gave freedom to Greece, we built a hundred war-triremes. These and other benefits, with a great increase of power, accrued to the people of Athens from that peace with Sparta. Again, we had a war on account of the Æginetans; and after having suffered and inflicted many injuries, again we desired peace. Ten ambassadors selected from all of the Athenians (one of whom was Andocides, my grandfather) were sent, with full powers, to Sparta, to conclude a peace. They concluded a peace for thirty years. And in this long time, were the people of Athens overthrown? Were any persons detected in working their overthrow? Quite the contrary. That very peace raised the people of Athens so high, and made them so strong, that we deposited in the Acropolis, in those years of peace, a thousand talents, and assigned them by law to the exclusive use of the people; and in the next place, we built a hundred more ships of war, constructed docks, increased our police, and built the southern long wall. These benefits and this increase of power accrued to the people of Athens from the peace with Sparta. Again going to war on account of the Megareans, leaving our country to be ravaged, and suffering many privations, again we made peace, through the agency of Nicias, the son of Niceratus; and I am

sure you all know that through that peace we deposited in the Acropolis seven thousand talents in coin; that we built more than four hundred ships of war; that a revenue of more than twelve hundred talents came in; that we gained possession of Chersonesus and Naxos and more than two thirds of Eubœa. . . . . And while enjoying these benefits, again we became involved in war with Sparta, at the call of the Argives. Now, men of Athens, remember the proposition which I laid down at the beginning of the argument. Was it not that the Athenian people have never been overthrown by peace? That proposition is certainly proved."

It appears to me that the historical argument in this passage is well put; the cases are apposite, and the facts striking. It was not the orator's purpose to undervalue the glory of martial achievements. That would not have been a welcome topic to an Athenian assembly, who could never hear an allusion to Marathon or Salamis without going off in a patriotic frenzy. On the contrary, the manner in which he brings in the old, disabled war-galleys that fought the Persians at Salamis, — just glancing at that memorable day, — was well suited to stir the blood of the hearers as with the sound of a trumpet. He wished to remind them, however, that, in every case in which peace had been made, the dignity and power of the Demos had received lasting increase; and by inference, those who negotiated peace on these several occasions were public benefactors. The argument is, of course, a vindication of the treaty which he had himself assisted in negotiating.

These two orators belong especially to the period of the Peloponnesian war, and to the years of agitation which followed it. It is singular that so much study and care, in such a time, could be expended on art by men whose personal fortunes and whose very lives were so involved in the vicissitudes of war and the revolutions of the state. They are two highly significant figures, illustrating by their characters and works the Attic genius in an important and trying period.

LECTURE X.

THE SPARTAN ASCENDENCY. — EPOCH OF THEBAN GLORY. — LYSIAS. — ISOCRATES. — ISÆUS. — LYSIAS AND ISÆUS COMPARED.

In the last Lecture I endeavored to present an outline of public events, as they affected Athens and her institutions, during the Peloponnesian war. The internal revolutions were briefly indicated, and the general demoralization, as described by Thucydides, was noticed. I also cited the testimony of the Comedies of Aristophanes, as illustrative of the rapid deterioration of public life after the death of Pericles. The play of "The Knights" was briefly analyzed, in illustration of the intrigues of the demagogues to win the favor and control the affairs of the Athenian Demos. The downfall of Athens, at the close of that fierce and protracted encounter of grasping and vindictive passions, gave the Spartans unquestioned pre-eminence in the affairs of Greece. The islands and cities which had previously acknowledged the leadership of Athens now fell under the sway of Sparta, who proceeded to exercise her power by displacing the democracies and substituting oligarchies. These were mostly bodies of ten, constituting a kind of council of state, and exercising the functions of government despotically. In some places, however, they set up a governor under the title of Harmost, or Regulator, who was a petty tyrant, responsible only to Sparta, and quite certain to find ample support at home for any amount of oppression he might see fit to exercise. At Athens, the Demos was restored, it is true, but shorn of its power and splendor. Lysander took away all her fleet but twelve triremes, de-

stroyed the arsenals, and burned the unfinished ships on the stocks. The walls and bulwarks of the city were demolished, while flute-players and dancing girls were insolently employed to give to the work of destruction the aspect of a festival.

But, fortunately, the Athens of Pericles and Pheidias — the Acropolis with its Propylæa and Parthenon, its bronze and marble statues — yet remained. Athens was still, as before, the most illustrious centre of art, the consecrated home of all that was most precious and delightful in the works of genius and the refinements of social life. Her confederates soon began to groan under the Spartan bondage, and to look back regretfully to the milder rule of the city of Athene; and hardly had the supremacy of Sparta been established, when the incurable vices of Laconian institutions began to threaten their dissolution. Greece and Asia Minor were overrun by military adventurers, thrown out of employment by the cessation of arms. A large body, known in history as the Ten Thousand, enlisted in the service of Cyrus the Younger, in his rebellious attempt to dethrone his elder brother, and, after the defeat and death of Cyrus, performed that wonderful march of fifteen hundred miles through a hostile country, under the able leadership of Xenophon the Athenian, who has immortalized the retreat in the most interesting of his books. Asia Minor became the scene of hostilities between the Spartans and Persians, interrupted only by hostilities at home between the tyrant city of the Peloponnesus and her discontented allies. The destruction of the Lacedæmonian fleet by Conon, in the battle of Cnidos, crippled the power of Sparta by destroying her naval supremacy. The peace of Antalcidas, B. C. 387, negotiated by that diplomatist, but really dictated by the Persian king, and recognizing him as the arbitrator of the destinies of Greece, completed the odium under which Sparta justly fell. Other troubles in Central and Northern Greece — aggressions of the Spartans in Bœotia, and the seizure of the Cadmeia of Thebes — tended to keep alive a hostile spirit very disastrous to the prosperity of the cities. The Athenians took the alarm, and

allied themselves with Thebes. Gradually the Athenian confederacy was reorganized, and preparations were made for a new war.

Unfortunately for Sparta, a man of the highest military genius now appeared at Thebes, — Epaminondas, as much distinguished for probity as for bravery, — thought by some to be the greatest general Greece had yet produced. He was a man, too, of high intellectual accomplishments and endowments, familiar with the literature and philosophy of his times, and eloquent beyond all his countrymen. Pelopidas also was beginning to be known as an able statesman and commander; and these two eminent persons were united in the bonds of intimate and cordial friendship. Under the guidance of these great leaders the power of Thebes increased so rapidly as to excite the jealousy of Athens, who offered terms to Sparta; but the cessation of hostilities was only momentary. Antalcidas was sent to Persia, B. C. 372, to solicit the intervention of that power; but a general desire for peace led to a renewed negotiation, and a congress of deputies was held at Sparta, B. C. 371. The terms of a general peace were agreed upon by all except Epaminondas, who represented Thebes. This is known in history as the Peace of Callias, as Callias, one of the representatives of Athens, was very active in bringing it about. The refusal of Thebes caused the greatest irritation among the Spartans, and Bœotia was immediately invaded. The decisive battle of Leuctra, fought only three weeks after the conclusion of the Peace of Callias, sent a thrill through all Greece, and set up a new power over the ruins of the defeated leadership of Sparta. Thebes now assumed the position which Sparta held before; and Sparta sank so low that she sent ambassadors to solicit the aid of Athens. The battle of Mantineia, B. C. 362, again gave the Thebans a victory, dearly bought by the death of Epaminondas; and this brings us down to the period when the power of Macedon began to be ominously seen in the affairs of Greece. The Spartan supremacy had continued from the downfall of Athens, only for a few years unresisted, and

then maintained with costly struggles till the battle of Leuctra, B. C. 371. The supremacy of Thebes was bound up in the lives of two men, Epaminondas and Pelopidas, and disappeared when the shadows of an approaching conflict began to fall upon the face of the land from the north, about B. C. 361.

Within this period are included the closing years and the judicial murder of Socrates, the latter part of the life of Aristophanes, and the exhibition of three or four of his Comedies. Plato was a young man of twenty-four or twenty-five at its commencement, and survived it fourteen years; Aristotle was a youth of three-and-twenty at its close, and had been for about three years a student of philosophy in Athens; and Demosthenes just about the same time was prosecuting his unfaithful guardians for squandering his estate, and giving the first proofs of that intellectual superiority which afterwards carried him to the highest pinnacle of fame. Philip was still a hostage in Thebes, studying the characters of the leading men of Greece, the relations of parties, and the struggling passions in the states, and acquiring that knowledge of the Greek language and literature of which he made such masterly use in his subsequent reign. The grouping of these important personages in this period presents a striking picture, — a wonderful variety of intellectual forces, each destined to make its mark in history, and to tell upon the condition of the world.

The three orators whose lives and labors fall within this period are Lysias, Isocrates, and Isæus. The first was born in 458 B. C.; the second, in 436 B. C.; and the last, some years later. Lysias died in 378 B. C.; Isocrates lived till 338 B. C.; and Isæus died ten years earlier, 348 B. C.

The family of Lysias was Syracusan by origin. His father, Cephalus, was invited by Pericles to settle in Athens. He is introduced in Plato's Republic as a venerable old man, greatly beloved by all who knew him. Lysias joined the colonists who emigrated to Thurii in 444 B. C., though then but fifteen years old. There he studied rhetoric under the Sicilian masters,

Tisias and Nicias. In 412 he returned to Athens, and, though only a resident alien, not having therefore the full rights of citizenship, he established a school. He and his family were ardent supporters of the democracy; and when the *Thirty* came into power, his brother Polemarchus was put to death, while he saved his life only by fleeing to Megara. He gave his support to Thrasybulus, raised a body of men for the enterprise, and returned to Athens with the triumphant liberator. When Eratosthenes, one of the Thirty, ventured to return to Athens under the general amnesty, Lysias appeared as his prosecutor; for it had so happened that Eratosthenes was the man who had arrested the brother of the orator. The oration delivered on this occasion was the first spoken by him in open court; and it marks an important epoch in his life; for up to this time his labors had been limited to teaching, and writing speeches as school exercises. Eratosthenes denied that he had voted in the senate-house for the death of Polemarchus, and he claimed that he belonged to the more moderate party of the Thirty: but there was the undeniable fact that he had carried out the decree of the Thirty, and had put Polemarchus to death without any form of law; nay, more, that the dead body of the murdered man had been treated with gross indignity, — an outrage on Hellenic feelings worse than death itself. No wonder, then, that a strong feeling of personal animosity pervades the oration. The temper of the speaker is shown in the very first paragraph.

"It is not difficult for me, judges, to begin this accusation, but it is difficult to leave off speaking. Crimes so great in magnitude and so many in number have been perpetrated by these men, that he who might be willing to falsify could not exaggerate their enormity, nor, if he adhered to the truth, could he tell the whole truth; but, of necessity, either the accuser must give out, or the time would fail him. Formerly it was necessary for accusers to explain the ground of their hostility to the accused; but now it becomes our duty to inquire of the accused what was their enmity to the city, and why

they dared to commit such crimes against it. I speak thus, not because I have no private wrongs and griefs; for all the citizens have more cause of resentment for their personal sufferings than for the offences committed against the state. But, judges, having never before appeared for myself or others, I am now compelled by what has taken place to come forward as this man's accuser; and I have often despaired lest, on account of my inexperience, I should conduct the prosecution in behalf of my murdered brother and myself in a feeble and unworthy manner. Nevertheless, I will endeavor to lay the whole case before you in the fewest possible words."

He then recounts, in the most animated manner, the history of his family, their emigration to Athens, the establishment of the Thirty, the denunciation of himself and his brother, and his own arrest and escape. Melobius and Mnesitheides, he says, arrested him. He was carried to the house of Damnippus, where Theognis was holding others in custody. Damnippus thought it best to speak with Theognis, who would do anything for money. While the conversation was going on, Lysias, who was familiar with the house and remembered that it had entrances on both sides, resolved to attempt an escape, considering that, if he could get away unseen, his life would be saved, and if he were caught, Theognis was open to bribery, and would take the money just as readily; or, if not, he (Lysias) would die as if nothing had happened. On this calculation, he made the attempt, the guard being placed at the front door. Luckily he found all three of the doors through which he had to pass open. He took refuge in the house of Archeneos, a well-known ship-owner, and, sending him to inquire what had become of his brother, and learning that Eratosthenes had arrested him in the street and dragged him to prison, he went by sea the following night to Megara. The Thirty sentenced Polemarchus to suffer the customary death by drinking hemlock, without even informing him of the reason why he was to die; so far were they from affording him a fair trial with an opportunity of defence. "They plundered his property, insulted his corpse,

and, in their shameless eagerness to rob, even tore the golden ear-rings from the ears of his wife." After a few more statements urged in a like vehement manner, he says: "I thought the charges already made were enough; for I am of opinion that the accusation should be so far pushed that the accused shall be proved to have committed crimes deserving death. Death is the extreme penalty which we can exact from them. And I do not know that there is any occasion to carry the accusation further against men who could not satisfy justice by dying twice for every one of their deeds." Yet, after this strong description of the nature of the case, he goes on through many more pages of narrative, invective, argument, and passionate calls for justice on the offender; and closes with the pithy sentence, "You have heard, you have seen, you have suffered; you have him, — judge."

Another speech of similar import, and much in the same style, is that against Agoratus. This man appears to have been a miserable tool in the employ of the oligarchical party, and an informer in the pay of the Thirty Tyrants. One of the victims of his infamous trade was Dionysiodorus, a near relative of Lysias. He was prosecuted by Lysias for murder. Here again we meet with the same vehemence of personal feeling, and the same clearness and vigor of narrative, in a recital which extends over the period of the downfall of Athens and the establishment of the Thirty, containing therefore many facts of deep historical interest. Bringing the story down to the time when the victims had been condemned to death, in a few simple words he paints a scene in prison, which must have been very impressive before a body of citizens who had so recently escaped from the horrors of so lawless a tyranny. "Judges, when sentence of death had been passed upon these men, and they were doomed to die, they sent for their friends to the prison, — one for a sister, one for a mother, one for his wife, each for the person nearest to him, — in order that they might embrace them for the last time before they died. And Dionysiodorus sent for my sister, his wife, to

the prison. Immediately on receiving the message she went, — clothed in mourning, as was becoming, her own husband being involved in such a calamity. In the presence of my sister, Dionysiodorus disposed of his property as he thought right, and then spoke of this Agoratus, declaring him to be the author of his death, and charging me, and his own brother Dionysius, and all his friends, to avenge him upon Agoratus; and he enjoined upon his wife to tell, when the time should come, her then unborn child, should it be a son, that Agoratus had killed his father, and to bid him pursue him as his father's murderer."

At the opening of the speech he had represented Agoratus as the common enemy of himself and the dicasts. Now, having brought to their imaginations the scene in prison, he proceeds at once to charge upon the accused a participation in the other crimes of the Thirty. "I grieve, men of Athens, to remind you of the calamities that have befallen the city; but it is necessary, judges, on the present occasion, in order that you may see how little Agoratus deserves your pity. You know the citizens brought over from Salamis, who they were and how many, and what a death they died at the hands of the Thirty; you know the victims from Eleusis, how many shared the same fate; and you remember those who, through private enmities here, were dragged to prison, — men who had done no wrong to the city, but were doomed to perish by a most shameful and ignominious death, some leaving behind them aged parents, who hoped to be cherished in old age by their sons, and to be laid by their hands in the tomb, when they had closed their life; others leaving sisters unmarried; others, little children, needing their tender care. What think you, judges, would be their feelings towards this man, or what verdict would they render, if they had a verdict to give, — they who were robbed by him of their nearest and dearest?"

In another passage he says: "I desire to show you, judges, what sort of men you have been deprived of by Agoratus.

Some of them, having commanded your armies, transmitted the city greater to their successors; others, having held various high magistracies, and having performed faithfully all their public duties, never had their characters impeached. Some were preserved, whom he would gladly have slain, and against whom he procured a sentence of death; but by the favor of fortune and of God they escaped, and, returning with Thrasybulus from Phyle, are honored by you as noble men. Of such men as these, some Agoratus slew, others he drove into exile. And who is he? You must know that he is a slave, — the offspring of slaves. Such is the wretch who has done all this wickedness."

In another place he says: "I hear that he is prepared to assert, in his defence, that he fled to Phyle, and returned with the exiles; and that this is what he chiefly relies upon. It was so; he did go to Phyle, — and how could he show himself a greater villain, than, knowing that men were there who had been driven to banishment by himself, by daring to go where they were? Well, the moment they saw him they took him out to kill him, to the spot where they were wont to slay thieves and malefactors when they caught them. But Anytus, the commander, said it was inexpedient at that moment to take vengeance on their enemies; but if they should ever be restored to their country, then they could punish the guilty."

I have dwelt at some length upon these two orations, because they belong to a period of agitation, before the passions of men had entirely subsided from the stirring events of the war, the tyranny of the Thirty, their expulsion, and the first days of the restored democracy.

Lysias was somewhat under the influence of the Sicilian school, which delighted in artifices of style; but he had more terseness and vigor of expression than his models. His early works, that is, his school exercises, have not been preserved. The speeches that remain belong to the maturity of his genius and taste. In the fiftieth year of his age he commenced the

business of writing arguments for others. In doing this, he proceeded upon a somewhat original plan, and studied to adapt his compositions to the character, education, age, and circumstances of the persons who were to deliver them. He scrutinized the ordinary language of men in common life, employed figures but sparingly, and aimed to furnish his client with the greatest amount of arguments compatible with the nature of the case and the time allowed to the speaker. He always begins by endeavoring to conciliate the good will of the court; the narrative is always lively and interesting, and has the air of entire truthfulness and sincerity; and the reasoning is clear, coherent, forcible, and, if the case admits of such a possibility, conclusive. With these qualities, one is not surprised to learn that he very often gained his causes,—in short, that he was a most successful jury-lawyer. Add to this, that he was one of the most prolific of the Attic logographers. Four hundred and twenty-five orations once passed under his name, and two hundred and fifty were acknowledged by the ancients as genuine. Thirty-five have come down to us; and among them are several which are the best and most interesting authorities for the period between 401 and 387 B. C.

The next eminent rhetorician of this period is Isocrates, of whom, according to Plato, Socrates predicted: "He not only in oratory will leave all others behind him, like children, but a divine instinct will lead him on to still greater things, for there is an earnest love of wisdom in the heart of the man."

The father of Isocrates was a wealthy and respectable citizen of Athens, named Theodorus, who carried on the manufacture of flutes, — a circumstance that gave occasion to many satirical allusions by the comic poets of the time. Isocrates was born in the first year of the 86th Olympiad, or B. C. 436, in the archonship of Lysimachus, a little less than half a century before the birth of Demosthenes, and five years before the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war. He was, therefore, about seven years older than Plato. Theodorus had two other sons, Telesippus and Diomnestus, and a daughter. His father's fortune

enabled Isocrates to secure the ablest teachers of the age, and he listened to the lessons of Tisias, Gorgias, Prodicus, and even of Socrates; but the natural timidity of the young man, and some physical disadvantages under which he labored, prevented him from engaging personally in the career of public life, which had such transcendent attractions for ambitious spirits in Athens.

He accordingly devoted himself to the study of the theory of eloquence, and to the training of pupils, by teaching and writing, for the assembly and the courts. It appears that his patrimony was diminished, like so many other estates of Athenian citizens, by the calamities of the Peloponnesian war; and one object which he had in view was to repair these losses by the income derived from his business as a teacher of rhetoric. He first opened a school in Chios, where he had but nine pupils; though he is said to have assisted in the formation of a republican constitution for that state, on the model of that of Athens. After this unsuccessful attempt, he returned to his native city, where the number of his pupils soon increased to one hundred, and his instructions gained him a large fortune and an extraordinary reputation. Besides teaching, he was employed, like many Greek rhetoricians, in writing discourses for others, for one of which he is said to have received the enormous sum of twenty talents.

The wealth of Isocrates exposed him to the usual burdensome offices to which the possessors of property at Athens were liable. He served in the expensive liturgy of a trierarchy, B. C. 352, with great magnificence.

When somewhat advanced in life, he married Plathane, the widow of Hippias the Sophist, and adopted her youngest son, Aphareus. Having spent many years in the laborious profession of a teacher of eloquence, he died a voluntary death immediately after the disastrous result of the battle of Chæroneia, B. C. 338.

> "That dishonest victory
> At Chæroneia, fatal to liberty,
> Killed with report that old man eloquent."

The life of Isocrates extended over a period that embraced the most important events in the history of Athens. His youth and early manhood were passed amidst the scenes of the Peloponnesian war. He witnessed the establishment of the tyranny of the Thirty, and the triumphant restoration of the democracy by Thrasybulus. The romantic expedition of Cyrus the Younger, and the immortal retreat of the Ten Thousand, took place in the flower of his age. The death of his teacher, Socrates, by the atrocious sentence of a popular court, saddened his reflecting mind. With patriotic jealousy he watched the progress of the Spartan arms in Asia under Agesilaus, and shared in the hopes and the disappointments of the Corinthian war. He submitted impatiently to the Spartan supremacy, and doubtless witnessed the sudden glory of Thebes, the brilliant exploits of Epaminondas, and the downfall of the ancient rival of Athens, without regret. When Philip became a prominent personage in Grecian politics, Isocrates was one of those who looked to him as the saviour of the country. He felt that Philip had the power, and he gave him credit for the disposition, to unite the discordant and warring elements that disturbed the peace of the Grecian states, and to bend their concentrated forces upon the great enterprise of conquering the barbarian world. These hopes and this confidence were overthrown by the battle of Chæroneia, and the aged teacher refused to survive an event so disastrous to the liberties of Greece.

Thus, from the quiet scene of his labors and studies, Isocrates saw passing before him, with startling rapidity and dramatic effect, the shifting scenes of the Athenian fortunes. Perhaps these events of more than tragic interest turned his mind from the sophistic subtilties in the midst of which he had been educated, to the serious, earnest, and ethical views of life, and of eloquence in its influence upon life, which are so profusely scattered through his works; for he was the first to apply the art of eloquence to public questions and the affairs of state. In his school were trained the most eminent statesmen, orators,

and philosophers of his age. It was the resort of persons distinguished for birth and talents from every country where the civilization of Greece was known and honored. Even foreign princes corresponded with Isocrates on terms of equality.

His manner of composition was precise and technical. We see in it the habits of the careful student, nicely adjusting and rounding off his periods; not neglecting the matter, yet overscrupulous in respect to the manner. His Panegyric Discourse is said by some to have been for ten years, by others for fifteen, under his hand; and none can read it without discerning the traces of a scrupulous finish, which contrasts strikingly with the practical vigor and overpowering vehemence of Demosthenes. Demosthenes was as careful as Isocrates in the preparatory labor which he expended on his orations; but the necessity of addressing a living multitude forced him to mould his speech into those forms of pointed cogency, crystal clearness, and adamantine strength which no orator of modern times, perhaps, has approached so nearly as the great American Senator whose statue now guards the portals of our State-House. Isocrates, on the other hand, intent upon the rhythm of his sentences and the balancing antithesis of his clauses, sometimes draws out his constructions to such a length, that it would have been equally difficult for the speaker to deliver them without breaking down, and for an audience to hear them without losing part of the sense. Nowhere is the difference between the practical statesman and orator and the philosophical rhetorician more instructively exhibited.

But the language of Isocrates is the purest Attic; and his composition is an exquisite specimen of the artificial and elaborate type. "His diction," says Dionysius, "is no less pure than that of Lysias, and it employs no word carelessly; . . . . it avoids the bad taste of antiquated and far-fetched phrases." However unsuited to public delivery, to the reader it is clear, elegant, and delightful. It is select, carefully framed, polished to a high degree, and, though at times richly ornamented, it is also at times beautifully simple; but it is rarely concise and

forcible. His merits were discerned by the principal critics of ancient times. The most formal examination of them is that by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, to which may be added the observations in the sketch of his life and character by Plutarch. Cicero, Quintilian, Lucian, Pausanias, Ælian, Philostratus, Photius, Suidas, and even Eustathius, have touched upon his works with more or less minuteness. His moral sentiments are generally elevated, and, however mistaken he may have been in some of his opinions, the patriotic spirit of his writings is unquestionable.

Sixty orations were formerly extant that bore the name of Isocrates; but only twenty-eight of them were recognized as genuine by Cæcilius, a critic in the age of Augustus. Twenty-one have been preserved. Besides these, we have the titles and some fragments of twenty-seven more. There are also ten letters, written to his friends on political subjects, one of which, the tenth, is pronounced spurious. The title and a few fragments of a Theory of Eloquence (*Τέχνη Ῥητορική*) have been preserved.

The twenty-one orations now extant may be thus classified: —

1. Three Paræ̀netic Orations, or discourses written for the purpose of giving advice, resembling moral epistles. They are addressed, one to Demonicus, and two to Nicocles, the son of Evagoras, king of Cyprus.

2. Five Deliberative Orations (*συμβουλευτικοί*): the Panegyricus, those addressed to Philip and to Archidamus, the Areopagiticus, and that on the Peace.

3. Four Encomia: on Evagoras, Helen, Busiris, and the Panathenaicus.

4. Eight Judicial Discourses: the Plataicus; on Exchange of Estates; a pleading for the son of Alcibiades; the Trapeziticus, against Pasio the banker, on a question of deposit; the Paragraphicus; the Æginetieus; against Lochites; and the Defence of Nicias.

5. A discourse against the Sophists.

These are all of great interest, as illustrating the age of Isocrates and his personal character. A few extracts from two or three of them, touching upon the latter point, may be allowed, to complete my biographical notice of the rhetorician.

In the Oration to Philip he says: "I was by nature the least fitted of all the citizens to take part in public affairs; for I had not sufficient power of voice nor boldness enough to encounter a multitude, and to wrangle with the orators storming from the bema. But I claim the honor of intellectual ability and of a liberal education; wherefore I take it upon myself to advise, in the way that suits my nature and my talent, the city, and the other Greeks, and the most illustrious men."

In the Panathenaicus he says: "I have had my share of the greatest blessings that all men would pray to receive. In the first place, I have had health of body and of mind in no common measure, but to such a degree as to rival those who have been most fortunate in each of these respects. In the next place, I have had an affluence of the means of living, so as never to be deprived of any reasonable gratification that a man of sense would desire. Then I have never been overlooked or neglected, but have always ranked among those of whom the most accomplished Greeks thought and spoke as persons of character and influence. All these blessings have been mine, some superabundantly, others sufficiently." He then proceeds to point out circumstances in his lot which make him sometimes querulous and peevish.

Near the beginning of the oration he states that, when he began it, he was ninety-four years old; and towards the close he says that, when the composition was about half done, he was seized with a violent illness, which he "passed three years in combating"; that he was then persuaded by the urgency of friends, to whom he had read portions of it, to attempt its completion. He resumed the work, as he says, when he wanted but three years of a hundred, and in such a state of health as would have prevented any one else not only from attempting to write a discourse, but even from listening willingly to the discourse of another.

The oration on the Antidosis, or Exchange of Estates, contains valuable personal notices. The antidosis was a technical proceeding, by which the Attic law allowed a person on whom a costly liturgy had been imposed to call upon another citizen, whose estate he believed to be greater than his own, either to assume the office or to exchange estates with him. On one occasion, a person, Lysimachus probably, tendered to Isocrates the antidosis, and he, as the least evil, served the liturgy, and appears to have done it in a magnificent style. The discourse was composed many years afterward, in the form of a defence in a fictitious trial. Schöll commits an error when he says that Isocrates pronounced it in defending himself against Lysimachus.

He begins by stating that he had been exposed to many calumnies from the Sophists, which he had disregarded; but when he was far advanced in life, an exchange of estates had been tendered to him upon the trierarchy; and his opponent had made such statements with regard to his wealth, that he was compelled to take the burden upon himself. He was then led to reflect on the best method of refuting these injurious misrepresentations, and of setting his character, life, and pursuits in a true light before his contemporaries and future generations. "Upon mature consideration," he says, "I found I could effect this purpose in no other manner than by writing a discourse which should be, as it were, an image of my mind and life; for I hoped that by this means my character and actions would be best understood, and that the discourse itself would remain a much more honorable memorial than tablets of brass. . . . . With these views I set about the composition of the present discourse, not in the full vigor of my powers, but at the age of eighty-two." He says of himself: "I have so lived during the time that is past, that no one, either in the oligarchy or the democracy, has charged upon me any insolence or wrong, and no arbitrator or dicast has ever been called to sit in judgment upon my conduct."

He then describes himself as keeping aloof from political

affairs, from courts of law, from assemblies, from the arbitrators, and contrasts his own habits with those of his enemies, who haunted every place of public resort, and intermeddled with suits and prosecutions of every kind. He states that he has written, not upon the common business of man with man, but upon subjects of general importance, —"Hellenic, political, and panegyrical discourses," — which rank, as works of art, with those compositions which are embellished with music and rhythm; and that many have desired to become his disciples, thinking that thus they might make themselves wiser and better men. He then reviews his principal compositions, giving passages from the Panegyricus, the discourse on Peace, and one of the addresses to Nicocles. "These," says he, "having been written and published, I acquired great reputation and received many pupils, not one of whom would have remained with me, had they not found me to be such as they had supposed. And now, when there have been so many, some of whom have lived with me three years, not one will be seen to have found any fault with me; but at the end of the time, when they were about to sail home to their parents and friends, they were so attached to their residence, that they took their departure with a heavy heart and with tears." He then enumerates his pupils and friends who had received golden crowns from the city on account of their public merits; and, in fact, all the important circumstances of his life are so minutely described, that the discourse answers the purpose he intended, of conveying an image of himself to posterity.

The Panegyricus I shall notice at greater length, partly because it is an excellent specimen of the best manner of Isocrates, and partly because, by its plan, it presents a review of the history of Athens from the mythical ages down to the period following the treaty of Antalcidas.

The date of the Panegyricus has been much discussed, and differently settled by different scholars. The events alluded to in the discourse itself furnish the means of deciding this point approximately, but not exactly. The number of years

during which Isocrates kept the work in his hands makes it uncertain whether these allusions to historical facts of his time have reference to the moment of writing the respective passages, or to the time of publication. Setting this element of uncertainty aside from the calculation, we may assume that the Panegyricus appeared about 381 B. C.; since the author speaks of the Cyprian war "being already in its sixth year," and that began in 386 B. C. Of course it must have been published before the end of the war, B. C. 376, and the death of Evagoras; since there is no hint in the discourse of either of these events. This is the latest date. If this be assumed as correct, Isocrates finished the oration at the age of fifty-five. It was published in the time of the Spartan supremacy—which lasted from the peace of Antalcidas, B. C. 387, to the battle of Leuctra, B. C. 371—and about twenty years before the name of Philip of Macedon began to be heard of in Greece.

The object of the Panegyricus is the vindication of the Athenian claim to supremacy, and the reconciliation of the Greeks, particularly Sparta and Athens, for the purpose of assailing the Persians with their united forces.

After introductory remarks upon the nature of the subject, — upon its having been often handled before, and the orator's own ideas as to the proper manner of treating it,— he proceeds to maintain the claims of Athens to the supremacy, on the ground of the antiquity of the city, and the purity of the origin of the Athenians; then, on the score of what Athens has done towards adorning, cultivating, and embellishing life; her services in founding colonies; her laws and institutions; her hospitality, and the liberal manner in which she has conducted herself towards other states; her elegant festivities and shows, in which genius has been cultivated and honored; and her pursuit of literature, especially of eloquence and philosophy.

He then passes on to her history, beginning with the mythical times, Adrastus, the Heracleidæ, the wars with the Scythians, Thracians, Amazons, Persians. He touches lightly upon

the Trojan story, but is especially emphatic on the wars with Darius and Xerxes, in which the Spartans and Athenians were rivals. The pre-eminence of the latter was acknowledged then, and this fact is an argument in support of their present claim to the hegemony.

In the next place, he considers the conduct of the Athenians in administering their power; their leniency, and their care for the safety of their allies, as contrasted with the oppression and cruelty of the Lacedæmonians, which have led to great disorders and disasters among the Grecian states.

He then points out the folly of the Greeks in contending among themselves, when they might gain such advantages by uniting against the Persians; describes the weakness of the Persians, and the proofs and sources of it; speaks of the natural hostility of the Greeks against the barbarians, the reasons that encourage the Greeks to war, — especially the favorable circumstances of the times and the state of Persia, — and the necessity of a federal union among the Greeks, in order to compose their own discords.

Finally, he argues that the Greeks should set their minds upon the prosperity they may transfer from Asia, and that they who have the power should study to reconcile the Spartans and the Athenians. The orators are exhorted to renounce the petty subjects which now occupy them, and to expend their rivalries on this, which is by far the most important interest to which their attention can be directed.

I think we can hardly assign to Isocrates the position or glory of a great statesman, or a man of profound convictions, or of very earnest character; but his influence was important in a literary and rhetorical point of view, especially as he directed the studies of his pupils into the channel of popular speaking, as distinguished from the oratory of the courts.

The eloquence of his style was captivating to the Athenians, who were always sensitive to beauty of form. In this respect he was undoubtedly much superior to all his predecessors; but he was quite deficient in what the ancient critics call

δεινότης, that union of passion and vigor, which made Demosthenes the sovereign ruler of the bema. He wrote a few speeches to be delivered by others; but preferred to discuss subjects of general interest to the Hellenic world, in a form suited rather to private reading than to popular assemblies or the courts of law.

The third and last orator whom I have placed in this period is Isæus. Very little is known of his life, and even as to his birthplace there is a question between Chalcis and Athens. His father's name was Diagoras; and he flourished between the Peloponnesian war and the Macedonian age. He went to Athens early, if not born there, and there passed the greater part of his life; he studied under Lysias and Isocrates; wrote orations for others to deliver in the courts; and finally established a rhetorical school, which was resorted to by many men who afterwards became eminent. But the great glory of his school, that which makes it illustrious forever, is the memorable fact that here Demosthenes received a portion of his early instruction, and hence derived the knowledge of some branches of the law, especially the law of inheritance, and the plain, practical mode of dealing with practical subjects which we admire so much in his earliest speeches, namely, those which he delivered in the suit against his guardians.

Of the orations of Isæus only eleven have been preserved; and these are all on questions arising out of disputed inheritance. Their chief value consists in the illustrations they afford us of the Attic law on this important head. Among modern critics, Sir William Jones thought Isæus of sufficient importance to translate his orations and to comment upon them. That his works were regarded by the ancients as worthy of profound study is shown by the admirable treatise of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, devoted to an elaborate comparison between Lysias and Isæus. This striking essay, which would have made in modern times a capital article for a quarterly review, abounds in elegant and acute criticism, and felicitous comparisons. The writer considers Isæus as so far a successful student

and imitator of the style of Lysias in many particulars, that a superficial reader would not be able easily to decide, between the two, the authorship of some of the extant discourses. But with this general resemblance, he discriminates between them thus. The style of Lysias is more clear, more *ethical*, that is, expressive of character, more naturally composed and more simply formed, more attractive and graceful. The style of Isæus is more artistical and accurate than that of Lysias, more curious in its composition, and distinguished by a greater variety of figures. As much as it is inferior in grace, it is superior in power and in weight of phrase, and served as a model for the forceful style of Demosthenes. In the arrangement of the subject-matter, Dionysius also finds Isæus more subtile than Lysias, and accuses him of sometimes dealing unfairly with his adversary, attempting to manœuvre with the judges, and resorting to every means to support the cause he is advocating. In another place the critic says: "In reading the narratives of Lysias, one would suppose, not that they were artfully constructed, but that everything was told according to nature and truth,—not reflecting that the highest excellence of art is to imitate nature. In the narratives of Isæus, he would have the opposite feeling, not supposing that anything is told spontaneously and without elaboration; and if anything chance to be related in an off-hand style, he would fancy that it was done with a design, and for some purpose of deception. He would believe the one, even when he told a falsehood; but would not listen to the other, even when he told the truth, without suspicion."

This is a curious criticism, a part of which only can be founded on the existing works of Isæus; the rest must have been drawn from some of his pleadings which have perished. There is another illustration of the difference between these two orators, which has been much admired. "There are," says the ingenious critic, "certain ancient pictures, very simple in their coloring, and having no variety in the blending of the tints; but they are exact in drawing, and have much that is

pleasing in this respect. There are others, more modern, less accurately drawn, but more finished in the details, more varied with light and shade, and more forcible in coloring. Lysias, in simplicity and grace, resembles the ancient pictures; Isæus, in elaboration and art, the modern." The writer then proceeds to illustrate this difference by quoting the opening passage of an oration of each of them.

The passage from Isæus belongs to a lost oration; and as it is on a curious subject, illustrative of Attic life, I will read it. It is the commencement of an argument in defence of Eumathes, a *metic*, or resident alien, who was a banker at Athens. He had been a slave, but was emancipated. The heir of his former master attempted to recover him as a part of the estate of the deceased. He was defended by a citizen, for whom Isæus composed the argument, which is thus introduced: — "Judges, on a former occasion I was of no little service to Eumathes, the defendant, and with justice; and now, if it is in me, I shall endeavor to rescue him from ruin with your help. I beg you to hear me briefly, that no one may suppose I have engaged in the affairs of Eumathes from forwardness or from any wrong motive. In the archonship of Cephisodorus I was called upon to serve in the fleet, and the report came home to my friends that I had fallen in a sea-fight. I had a deposit of money with Eumathes, the defendant. Sending for my family, he disclosed to them the funds which I had on deposit with him, and paid over the whole amount, honestly and justly. For this reason, when I returned in safety, I became more intimate with him than before, and when he established his bank, I joined with others in furnishing him a capital. Afterwards, when he was claimed by Dionysius, I determined to vindicate his freedom, knowing that he had been manumitted in open court by Epigenes. But on these points I will say no more."

The case in which the critic quotes from an oration of Lysias was in principle similar to one that had occurred many years before. A man bearing the relation of guest to a citizen

of Athens was claimed as a slave, belonging to the estate of one Androcleides, who, it was asserted, had given him his freedom. His Athenian friend undertook his defence, and applied to Lysias for a speech, stating to him the facts of the case. The opening, as quoted by Dionysius, is as follows: — "I think it my duty, Judges, to speak to you first of the friendship subsisting between me and Pherenicus, the defendant, that no one may be surprised that I, who never before have spoken in behalf of any of you, now undertake this man's defence. Cephisodotus, his father, was my friend and host; and, Judges, when we were at Thebes in exile, I was constantly made welcome at his house, as was every other Athenian who desired it. After having received many kindnesses from him, both in public and in private, we were restored to our native land. When, therefore, these men, falling into like misfortunes, became exiles, and fled for refuge to Athens, feeling that I owed them the greatest possible debt of gratitude, I received them into my house on so intimate a footing that no visitor who was not previously aware of the fact could have told to which of us the house belonged. Pherenicus knows well, Judges, that there are in this city many speakers abler than I am, and more experienced in such affairs; but he believes that my friendship is the most to be trusted. It seems to me, therefore, that it would be shameful, when he implores me to render him the help which he can justly demand, if I should allow him, without such effort as I am able to make, to be deprived of the boon of freedom he received from Androcleides."

Dionysius compares these passages, sentence by sentence, and points out their characteristic peculiarities of phraseology with admirable precision. The substance of the discussion is, that the opening of Lysias is more easy, natural, and affecting; that of Isæus more highly wrought and more artificial. The critic should, however, have added, that the facts in the two cases are quite different. In the one, the motive for interference was a previous instance of honesty on the part of the

defendant, in a pecuniary transaction; in the other, it was the sacred tie of hospitality, coming down from a past generation, and connecting itself by generous services with the sad recollections of public and private suffering and the bitterness of exile.

We have now passed through the periods of the growth of the Athenian power; the magnificent exhibition of Attic genius in literature, philosophy, and art; the origin and progress of the arts of speech, applied to the affairs of life as involved in questions of right and wrong, to be decided by the united judgments of impartial men. The eloquence of debate called into active operation by great public crises, national dangers, or struggling parties, had not yet taken a literary form, or at least had not been made a matter of permanent record. Great questions were discussed from the bema; passionate appeals were made to living men, and responded to by thronging and excited multitudes; all the highest effects of popular eloquence had been produced again and again; but the pen had not preserved them for after ages. They were wrought out under the pressure of the moment; the excitement of conflict; the fiery impulses of eager multitudes swayed with mighty internal forces, and kindling with tumultuous sympathy. The flashing eye, the tremulous nerve, the sudden word that opens the floodgate of feeling, the moment of inspiration carrying the soul of the speaker out of himself and compelling the souls of his audience to go with him in his daring flight, — all these had been witnessed in the assemblies of the Pnyx; but the fleeting exaltation and its effects had not yet been arrested and bound to the written word. In the courts, on the other hand, the subtilties of argument, the precision of analysis and logical reasoning, had, as we have seen, long been made the subject of art, reduced to system, and taught in the rhetorical schools. But as the courts were numerously constituted, topics of popular appeal were wrought into the most abstruse discussions, and passionate utterances interrupted the severest chain of logical deduction. Here personal feeling often found vent, and love,

hatred, and vengeance poured themselves out in the most vehement expression. We find in the written pleas of those old lawyers all the eager pursuit of victory — sometimes regardless of means — that shows itself in the competitions of the modern bar. We see all the passions of advocacy, in their fullest vigor, entering into and possessing the pleaders. It is an impressive and solemn thing to recall from the dead silence of the past these tones of human feeling that died away so long ago, and yet speak to us in the recorded page. Those busy brains, those subtile intellects, those hearts throbbing with the tender or fierce emotions of a crowded life, still breathe in the living present, still teach us their lessons of human strength and weakness, still appeal to us as men of like minds and passions with themselves.

LECTURE XI.

TRIAL OF SOCRATES. — PLATO'S REPUBLIC. — AGE OF PHILIP AND ALEXANDER. — LYCURGUS. — ÆSCHINES. — HYPERIDES.

The trial and death of Socrates, early in the period which was the subject of the last Lecture, showed the workings of the passions brought into play by the Peloponnesian war, and the dangers to which the object of momentary popular dislike was exposed, when he came before an Athenian court on a criminal charge. Mr. Grote has examined this case with his usual amplitude of learning and acuteness of reasoning; and while we may not agree wholly with his conclusion, palliating to some extent the atrocity of the verdict, we must admit that the result of the trial of that great man is not at all inexplicable. He had often censured the popular excesses, and exposed the hollow pretensions of the popular leaders. Just, magnanimous, pure beyond his age as he was, and his character more in accordance with the Christian than the heathen type, his society had yet been sought by the profligate Alcibiades and the oligarchical Critias. The natures of both were too far perverted even for his controlling personal influence, except while they were in his presence. In the Symposium of Plato, Alcibiades is made to speak the praises of Socrates with earnest and affectionate eloquence. He compares Socrates to those figures of Silenus, which conceal under an unseemly exterior the most exquisite images of the gods.

Such was Socrates to those who knew him best, in his comic exterior and in his grand and noble soul. He kept aloof from politics, because he would not bend himself to the base compliances by which he saw the demagogues yield to the lowest

and fiercest passions of the mob; and he freely censured the defective principles and the corrupting influences of that description of public life. But he discharged the duties which his country's laws laid upon him, in war and in peace, bravely and magnanimously. He served in the army, and excited the wonder of the common soldiers by his power of hardy endurance. He served in the assembly, and with a still braver spirit faced the roaring multitude who clamored unjustly for blood. After the battle of Arginusæ, a complaint was made against the generals, that they had neglected to collect the bodies of the dead that were floating on the stormy sea. Such a neglect touched the Hellenic sentiment to the quick; the friends of the fallen called for vengeance; and the generals were brought to trial before the assembled people. Though their guilt was not clear, the passions of the moment were roused to fury and demanded their sacrifice. Socrates happened to be the presiding officer on that day; and seeing that a judicial murder would be perpetrated, if the question were decided, he refused, in spite of the menaces of the mob, to put the vote. The meeting was adjourned till the next day, when a more pliant president occupied the place, and the generals were yielded to the still unabated storm of popular fury.

His opposition to the Sophists was equally uncompromising, and probably excited a still deeper and more dangerous resentment against him. It is true he had been held up by Aristoph anes, many years before, as the chief of a school of Sophists, and represented in the most ludicrous situations. He had, however, regarded it as a piece of amusing caricature; and such was his imperturbable good humor, that he went to the theatre to see the mimic Socrates, and when the actor appeared, disguised in a portrait-mask, according to the custom of the comic stage, the real Socrates stood up that the audience might judge how well the artist had succeeded in making a faithful likeness. The subsequent friendly intercourse between the philosopher and the poet shows that he harbored no more resentment against the witty caricaturist than Lord Brougham

may be supposed to feel against the writers in Punch, who for so many years made a standing joke of his Lordship's protuberant nose.

I think Socrates must have foreseen that such a course of opposition as his to the tendencies and passions of his times — especially in a period so revolutionary and dangerous — would sooner or later bring him into personal peril. When, therefore, the blow was struck, — four years after the tyranny of the Thirty, before the passions of that bloody period had cooled down or the wounds they inflicted had had time to heal, while its bitter memories were still fresh, — it caused him no surprise, nor did it for a moment ruffle the serenity of his spirit. He was prosecuted before the Heliastic court, on the charge of impiety and of corrupting the youth. He refused to resort to the common arts of defence, and declined to make use of an elaborate speech prepared for him by Lysias, as being unsuited to his character; but he answered his accusers point by point, with calmness and ability, and with the unshaken spirit of one conscious of innocence and fearless of death.

Here I must explain one of the peculiarities in the administration of the laws of Athens. Besides many other distinctions and classifications, there was a general division of criminal causes into two classes, called ἀγῶνες τιμητοί and ἀγῶνες ἀτίμητοι, that is, *causes to be estimated* and *causes not to be estimated* by the court. The latter class embraced those cases in which the law fixed the penalty, and the only point to be decided was the question of guilt or innocence. In the former class, the dicasts had first to decide this question; and if they brought in a verdict of guilty, there remained for them the still further question of the kind of penalty and its extent. It was to this class that the case of Socrates belonged. It will be remembered that a Heliastic court consisted of at least five hundred dicasts, and sometimes many more, presided over by a magistrate who exercised none of the functions of a judge. The question of guilt or innocence was decided by vote, and a majority of votes was conclusive. This was a simple matter;

but when a major vote had been declared against the prisoner, how in the cases to be estimated by the court could a body of five hundred or a thousand men ever come to an agreement? If such agreement is often found difficult to be attained, as it is, with us, where only twelve men have to decide, how could it be supposed that so numerous a jury would ever come to a determination? It was obviously impossible. The Attic law, therefore, required the prosecutor to affix his own estimate of the penalty which in his opinion ought to be exacted, if the prisoner should be found guilty; the prisoner also, if found guilty, was required to fix *his* estimate of the penalty; the jury decided between these two estimates, and this again was settled by the vote of a majority.

The defence of Socrates, as reported by Plato, is divided into three parts. In the first, he answers the charges directly, alluding to misrepresentations of his character and doctrines as one of the elements of the case. Having finished this part of the defence, the dicasts voted on the preliminary question. The verdict or vote was Guilty, but by a majority of only sixty votes; so that if thirty votes out of the five hundred had been changed, Socrates might have been acquitted; for a tie-vote was counted in favor of the prisoner. The second question, or the *estimate*, was next to be determined. The prosecutors had affixed the penalty of death to the indictment; and Socrates is now found guilty. Had he taken the usual course, or that which the desire to save his life would have dictated, — had he proposed a long imprisonment or exile, or a heavy pecuniary fine, — the smallness of the majority in the preliminary vote affords a presumption that the jury would have adopted his estimate and spared his life. But Socrates thought, and thought justly, that, after the services he had rendered to the cause of truth and righteousness, it hardly became him, a man of seventy, to confess himself guilty, for the sake of adding a few short years to his existence, shut out from the light of heaven and the converse of men, or suffering the miseries of exile. He had passed his days in the exercise of the highest

virtues; and it was not in accordance with his conception of true dignity of character to stand up before his countrymen and give even a formal and legal assent to the vote of the court, admitting that he, one of the most pious of men, had been guilty of impiety, and, one of the purest teachers and examples, had been guilty of corrupting the youth. When the question was put to him, therefore, he replied: "What do I deserve to suffer or to pay, because, neglecting the objects which most men aim at in life, — politics and fortune and honors and office, — I have striven to render to each of you the greatest service by persuading you to deem nothing of more importance than the attainment of the highest degree of intelligence and goodness, and not to think more of the possessions of the city than of the city itself? Some good, if I am to fix the estimate according to the truth and my deservings. And what is a suitable reward for a poor man to desire for consecrating his time to your instruction? What is more suitable for such a man than to be supported in the Prytaneium? . . . . If, therefore, I must render my estimate according to the merits of the case, I propose for myself a public support in the Prytaneium. . . . . However, if I had money, I should have fixed an estimate of money, as high as I thought proper to pay; for the loss of money would have been no harm. But I have none, — unless, perchance, you might be willing to take a mina. I might, perhaps, pay a mina. I accordingly fix the estimate at that sum. But Plato here, and Criton, and Critobulus, and Apollodorus, bid me offer thirty minæ, and they will be my sureties. Well, I adopt that estimate; and these men will be responsible as sureties."

Now the court are to vote on the second question. Shall they adopt the sentence of death, or a fine of thirty minæ, (about five hundred dollars)? The dicasts, it must be confessed, have placed themselves in an embarrassing position. They have pronounced Socrates guilty of impiety and of corrupting the youth. Socrates has not suggested exile or imprisonment; on the contrary, he claims, if justice is to be done,

one of the highest rewards ever conferred on public merit, and, merely to conform outwardly to the law, offers to pay one mina, — only on the suggestion of friends raising the sum to thirty minæ, with Plato and others for security. Now, will the dicasts convict themselves of absurdity by accepting the fine, sparing the life of their great teacher, and saving themselves from ignominy? Better had it been for them to stultify themselves, better to drink the hemlock a thousand times, than to vote the fatal sentence, — to doom themselves to eternal ignominy, and the best and wisest citizen of Athens to death. The illustrious victim addresses a few words of warning to his countrymen: "Men will reproach you for my death. Had you waited a little longer, it would have come in the course of nature; for you see how far advanced in age I am, and how near to death. Perhaps you suppose that my life is lost by want of skill in the arts of speech. Not so. I have failed through want of skill, not, however, in speech, but in audacity and shamelessness; and because I would not say to you such things as you would have liked best to hear, — weeping, and lamenting, and uttering things unworthy of myself, and such as you are accustomed to hear from others. I did not think it my duty then to do any mean thing to escape danger, nor do I now repent of having thus defended myself; I would much rather die with this defence than live with that. . . . . It is not difficult to escape from death; it is much more difficult to escape from wickedness: for it runs swifter than death. I am old and slow, and have been overtaken by the slower; but my accusers are strong and able, and *they* have been overtaken by the swifter, — wickedness. I retire under sentence of death; they under sentence, from the truth, of wickedness and injustice. I abide by my penalty, — they must abide by theirs." In this lofty tone of conscious innocence he discoursed to his murderers, as if he were sentencing them, not they him. Then, saying a few kind words to those who had voted for his acquittal, he argued that probably this sentence would result in good. To die is one of two things. Either the dead have

no perception of anything, or death is the migration of the soul to another place. If there is no consciousness, but death is like a dreamless sleep, then must it be a wondrous gain. But if to die is to migrate to another place, and the tale is true that all who have died are there, how transcending must be the happiness of conversing with the great and good of past ages, — with Orpheus, Musæus, Hesiod, Homer, and others! And at the conclusion he says, impressively: "But it is now time to depart, — I, to die, and you, to live, — which to a better issue is unknown to all, save to God."

The noble manner in which he spent the intervening time, his magnanimous refusal to seize the opportunity of escape procured for him by his friends, his great argument on the immortality of the soul in conversation with his disciples on the last day of his life, and the tranquil, saintly spirit in which he took the fatal potion and lay down to die, — things that make the little chamber in the rock at Athens a holy spot, — these belong to the history of Socrates, and not to the subject I have now undertaken.

On examining this case, I think it will be pretty obvious that, with an independent judge to explain the law and sift the evidence, and a jury of twelve men to render a unanimous verdict, — even in those days of excitement and still lingering terror, — Socrates would have been unanimously acquitted; but I do not think it certain that among us even so good a man as Socrates — if he had been long exposed to the malignant slanders of enemies, if he had censured the demagogues, thwarted the popular passions, stood in the way of men ambitious to rule the multitude, and exposed the sophists and impostors to ridicule and contempt — would have escaped with his life, in case he had been brought to trial on a vague accusation, before five hundred jurors drawn by lot from the citizens among whom all these offences were committed, with only a presiding officer to regulate the proceedings, his fate to be decided by the vote of a majority.

As this case illustrates the defects in the Athenian process

of trial, and is part of the history of the times, I have thought that a rapid sketch of its leading points belonged properly to the treatment of the Constitution of Athens.

To the same period belongs also the completion, if not the first conception, of Plato's Republic. I have already spoken of this work of the great philosopher, in connection with the general subject of Grecian opinions on slavery. The revolutions in Athenian politics, during the youth of Plato, no doubt impressed him with a dread of unbridled democratic rule, and gave him that bias towards the principles of the Spartan Constitution which he shared with other eminent Athenians. The death of Socrates, under the circumstances I have recapitulated, doubtless deepened the impression, so that, when he came to write out his own conceptions of the best possible republic, his near observation and experience of democracy naturally enough excluded it wholly as an element in the regenerated state. I mentioned his division of classes according to the faculties of the soul, taking the individual man as the type of the commonwealth. This would answer very well, if any class of men were all intellect, any other class all passion, any other class all bodily strength. But as every man has all these constituent elements of humanity, while only the proportions vary, it would prove logically absurd and practically impossible to organize a state upon any theory of this kind. But the most objectionable and monstrous part of the scheme is the utter abolition of the family tie and the education of all the children as children of the state. The most radical socialism of modern times hardly goes farther, — nay, most of the extravagances of modern reformers may be traced (in their germ at least) in this famous work. There are many noble suggestions on education, admirable moral reflections, profound observations on the nature of man, and criticisms on political institutions; but the Republic, as the representation of a possible state, is infinitely absurd; and when we regard it as the picture of a happy state, — of a state wherein a human being could possibly enjoy a fair share of rational contentment, to

say nothing of the delights of intellectual culture, — the only wonder is that a man of Plato's "large discourse, looking before and after," could have brought himself even to conceive of it. I wish we could reject it from his works; but the searching criticism of it in Aristotle's Polity, while it shows the superior practical sense of the Stageirite on this class of subjects, unfortunately proves it to be without doubt the work of the illustrious master of the Academy.

Macedonia, on the North, was now rising into influence. In the hands of ambitious men, she was ceasing to be the barbarous power the Southern Greeks had hitherto considered her. The body of the Macedonian people were not Greeks; they were an assemblage of half-savage tribes, with a few aristocratic families, which claimed to be of Hellenic descent, and at length, forcing a recognition of this claim, were admitted to the Olympic games and other festivals of Pan-Hellenic character. Perdiccas was the founder of the monarchy. It made no figure until the reign of Archelaus (B. C. 413), who did much towards improving the condition of his country by building roads and introducing a taste for letters and art. He employed Zeuxis to adorn his palace at Pella; and invited Agathon and Euripides to his court. The latter died and was buried there. Archelaus was the cousin of Amyntas II., the father of Philip, who, as has been already mentioned, resided in his youth for some time at Thebes as a hostage. There he had the best opportunities to learn the condition of Greece, exhausted by so many years of war and divided by such contrariety of political sentiments and wishes. He became acquainted with the military improvements introduced by Epaminondas; and it is said that he acquired some knowledge of Greek philosophy by a personal acquaintance with Plato. At all events, he seems to have gained an exact cognizance of the condition of Greece, and to have seen what a tempting career was opened to an unscrupulous prince, with abundant pecuniary means and military resources, to aggrandize himself and his country. At the age of twenty-three he became king of Macedonia, B. C. 359.

He was almost exactly of the same age with Demosthenes, who at this moment was preparing himself, by assiduous study, for the struggle which he did not yet foresee. Having established his power, he began to extend his dominions, and perhaps, even at the beginning of his reign, had already conceived the plan of reducing all Greece under his sway, and then leading a Pan-Hellenic army against the ancient empire of Persia.

The execution of his schemes first brought him into conflict with the Athenians, who had formerly held valuable colonial possessions on the Chalcidic peninsula, east of his hereditary dominions. Amphipolis and Potidæa fell successively before his arms or his intrigues. The war of Athens with her allies, — called the Social War, — which occurred in 358 B. C., absorbed the resources of Athens and the energies of her generals, Chares, Chabrias, Timotheus, Iphicrates, and others, and helped to facilitate the progress of Philip to universal supremacy. Still more, the Sacred War between Thebes and Phocis, commencing in the following year, soon gave the wily prince an opportunity to interfere in the affairs of central Greece. In 350 B. C., Olynthus applied to Athens for aid. Some of the Athenian statesmen — among whom Demosthenes was rapidly rising to the first place — had already begun to suspect Philip's designs, and to set themselves in opposition to him; and strenuous efforts were made to sustain the Olynthians in the unequal struggle. After three years Olynthus fell, and the whole Chalcidic peninsula lay at the mercy of Philip. The Sacred War ended in 346 B. C.; Philip gained the seat in the Amphictyonic Assembly forfeited by the defeated Phocians; and the peace of Philocrates — in consequence of overtures made to Athens by Philip — gave him an opportunity of intriguing at his leisure with the states of the Peloponnesus. He found Demosthenes constantly in his way. A few years later, B. C. 342, he began to menace the Athenian settlements in the Chersonesus, and thence he pushed his hostile expeditions still farther north. A state of things that could be termed neither war nor peace — a constant series of encroach-

ments on the part of Philip, of remonstrances on the part of the Athenians, with vehement appeals from the patriotic orators — marked the following three years.

In 339 B. C. the Amphissian war, caused by some encroachments of the Amphissian Locrians upon the sacred lands of the Delphian oracle, broke out. Æschines, even according to his own account, was deeply implicated in this most insane proceeding. It led, in the following year, to the appointment of Philip as commander of the Amphictyonic forces, and thus gave him the best possible opportunity to dictate his own wishes, in the supreme affairs of Greece, at the head of a resistless army. Through the energy of Demosthenes, a league against him was concluded between Athens and Thebes, and the confederated soldiery, marching northward, met him on the plain of Chæroneia. Their defeat and overthrow were disastrous to the independence of Greece, and made Philip the undisputed master of her destinies. He used his power with politic clemency, as he had ulterior designs to accomplish, and it was for his interest to bring the Greeks into a disposition to unite with him in carrying his project of Eastern conquest into execution. In a congress of the Grecian states, held at Corinth, war was declared against Persia, and Philip was appointed commander-in-chief. He made his preparations; but just as he was on the point of completing them, his assassination closed his reign of twenty-four years, B. C. 336, and for the time broke up the plan of Oriental conquest.

Alexander, now twenty years old, ascended the throne. The Greek states made an attempt to throw off the Macedonian yoke, but to no purpose. An Amphictyonic Assembly, held at Thermopylæ, appointed him to the place of commander-in-chief against Persia, left vacant by his father's death. Before setting out, however, he made an expedition among the barbarians of the North, whom he rapidly subdued. A report of his death, circulated in Greece during this absence in the neighborhood of the Danube, caused another rising, for which Thebes paid dearly, when the youthful conqueror, by rapid

marches, showed himself at Onchestus, in sight of the city, before the insurgents had learned that the rumor of his death was false. The destruction of the rebellious city, the slaughter of six thousand citizens, the sale of the survivors into slavery, and the occupation of the Cadmeia by a Macedonian garrison, struck terror through all Greece, and taught them what a master they might expect in this young but unrelenting despot. Having regulated the affairs of Greece, Alexander commenced his Eastern expedition in the spring of 334 B. C., leaving Antipater as regent of Macedonia. I need not trace the career of Alexander even in outline, because, with the exception of the excitement caused by the arrival at Athens (B. C. 325) of Harpalus, whom he had made satrap of Babylon, none of the events connected with it bear upon my subject. Alexander died in Babylon of a drunken excess in the summer of 323 B. C.

The news of this event animated the anti-Macedonian party to make another effort for the liberties of Greece. Athens, under the guidance of Hyperides, who was joined by Demosthenes, though in exile, took the lead in the patriotic movement. The most animated appeals were made to the other states; and a formidable force was assembled in the neighborhood of Thermopylæ. Antipater, marching from Macedonia, threw himself into the strong hold of Lamia. Leosthenes, the brave commander of the Athenian forces, laid close siege to the fortress, and Antipater was forced to sue for peace. The Athenians refused any terms short of unconditional surrender; and indeed they had every reason to hope for a complete victory in a few days. But unfortunately Leosthenes, their general, was wounded by a missile from the wall, and died on the second day. Macedonian forces began to arrive in support of Antipater, and Antiphilus, the successor of Leosthenes, marching to meet them, was completely defeated in the battle of Crannon in Thessaly, B. C. 322.

The scales were now turned, and the allies were compelled to sue for peace. Antipater craftily refused to treat except with

the single states. The result of this policy was that they submitted, one after another; and Athens, who had been the author and leader in the movement, lay defenceless at the feet of the conqueror. She was spared under rigorous conditions. The Athenians were required to deliver up their principal orators, including Hyperides and Demosthenes; the political franchise was limited by a property qualification; a Macedonian garrison was to be received into Munychia; and the expenses of the war were to be paid. The tragic scenes that immediately followed the Lamian war fill the saddest chapter in the history of Greece, and close the independent existence of the most illustrious of cities.

This rapid sketch will serve to bring the parties to the last conflicts in arms and eloquence into each other's presence. On the one side we have a despotic power, in the vigor of its early youth, governed by an accomplished and crafty prince, who is perfectly familiar with all the weak points in the condition of his adversary; on the other, the states of Greece, exhausted by the Peloponnesian war and the incessant struggles with one another that followed it. And this was not the only source of weakness. Each state was at discord within itself, rent by internal factions, thus exposing its dearest interests an easy prey to any foreign foe who had the skill to intrigue or the money to bribe. Philip had both; and he had no scruple in using them for the corruption of the needy politicians and base adventurers with whom the states swarmed. The patriots at Athens — for Athens was always the mainspring of every movement for the glory and honor of Greece — had to struggle, not only with the wiles, the money, and the arms of Philip, but with the traitorous opposition of a strong party in the Macedonian pay at home.

As Athens was the leading spirit in Greece, so Demosthenes was the leading spirit of the patriotic party at Athens. He was the soul and centre of that remarkable group of statesmen who adorned the last days of Athenian independence. I shall, therefore, reserve him for the conclusion of the present

course, and occupy the remainder of this Lecture with a brief account of some of the most eminent of his contemporaries. These were Lycurgus, born in 395 B. C.; Æschines, in 389 B. C.; and Hyperides, about 390 B. C. Deinarchus and Demades also belong to this period; but neither in character nor in ability do they rank with those I have mentioned, though both exercised an evil influence on the fortunes of their unhappy country. Lycurgus and Hyperides, each a host, were warm friends and supporters of the anti-Macedonian policy of Demosthenes; Æschines and Deinarchus were his vehement opponents.

Lycurgus belonged to one of the oldest and best families of Athens, which traced its origin back to the national hero Erechtheus. He passed a virtuous youth in the appropriate studies of an Athenian gentleman. He was a hearer of the lectures of Plato, and received instruction in rhetoric from Isocrates. He served as ambassador, with Demosthenes and Polyeuctus, in Peloponnesus, B. C. 343. His name is important in the history of Greek dramatic literature, from the fact that he caused a law to be enacted that authenticated copies of the tragedies of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides should be deposited in the public archives, and that the actors should follow this text in their representations. Ptolemy Euergetes borrowed these copies on a pledge of fifteen talents, and, forfeiting the money, added the scrolls to the literary treasures of Egypt. The same law decreed the erection of bronze statues of these famed poets, which were seen in the great Dionysiac Theatre, five centuries afterward, by Pausanias the traveller. They were probably the originals from which the marble statues and busts now in the Vatican were copied. Another law of his proposing is mentioned, prohibiting women from driving to the Eleusinian festival in a chariot and pair, under a penalty of six thousand drachmæ, or about a thousand dollars; and it is stated that, Callisto, his wife, having violated the law, Lycurgus paid the fine.

The chief public services of Lycurgus were in the depart-

ment of finance. He was chosen treasurer of the public revenue, — an office which by law could be held only four years; but he administered the department with so much integrity and success, that it was continued in his hands, under the names of other persons, for two additional *penteterides*, — amounting in all to twelve years. At the close of each period, his accounts were subjected to rigid scrutiny. He caused them to be engraved on marble slabs as a perpetual record, and a part of one of them remains to the present day. During his administration he constructed four hundred ships of war and a magazine for arms, finished the great theatre, and built a gymnasium, a palæstra, and a stadium. He held, also, a magistracy connected with the police, which he exercised with such effect, says Plutarch, that he drove all the rascals out of the city; and the orators used to say that, when he drew up warrants, he dipped his pen, not in ink, but in death.

This eminent statesman sometimes appeared in the courts as a public accuser. He was not a fluent speaker, and required much preparation, as is quite evident in the only speech of his which remains out of the twenty whose titles are preserved. That speech was delivered on the following occasion. Immediately after the battle of Chæroneia, when Philip was expected to march upon the city, an order was passed, forbidding the citizens to quit Athens under penalty of death. Leocrates, a rich and distinguished citizen, setting a pernicious example of cowardice and disobedience, stole on board a ship about to sail for Rhodes, and fled to that island. Shortly afterward he returned to Greece; but, not daring to show his face in Athens, established himself in Megara, where he resided six years. Probably supposing that by this time his desertion of his country in her hour of need had been forgotten, he ventured to return. But the vigilance of Lycurgus noticed the fact, and the recreant citizen, in spite of powerful friends, found himself suddenly prosecuted on a capital charge, with the incorruptible minister and austere magistrate for his accuser. The speech is drawn up with great care; and the facts are

stated with much precision, presenting a lively picture of the condition of Athens at the time. The charge is supported by testimony, from which it appears that, on arriving at Rhodes, Leocrates circulated a story that Athens had been captured, and the Piræus besieged, so that the Rhodian corn-merchants, whose ships were all ready to sail for Athens, unloaded their cargoes and gave up the voyage, to the great injury of the Athenian people. Then the facts pertaining to the residence in Megara are narrated. This is followed by the argument on the facts, and a reply to the defence, point by point; and the speech closes in a strain of pathetic eloquence, which, coming from that grave old man, — himself the soul of honor and the object of profound reverence with the people, who saw in him the model citizen, his life crowded with the noblest public services, — could not fail to produce the strongest effect upon the verdict of an Athenian jury. Some of the sentences are very forcible, and have impressed themselves on the mind of the world. "Crimes," said he, "as long as they are untried, rest upon those who have committed them; but after the trial has taken place, they rest upon those who have not pursued them according to justice. Know well, judges, that each of you now voting secretly will have to show his vote to the gods."

In one respect this oration of the grave old financier is quite different from those of other Attic orators, namely, in the extent of poetical quotations. They are generally very sparing of this kind of ornament, adhering more closely to the subject, and the lines of argument which it directly suggests, than is the fashion with most modern orators; but Lycurgus, perhaps because the preparation of a discourse cost him so much labor, helped himself out with these aids, and they are introduced with a little formality, and as if with intention and premeditation. His style is clear and strong, expressive of his upright and honest character. It is to be regretted that more of his works have not been preserved. During his life he was often honored with crowns and statues. The privilege of dining in

the Prytaneium was bestowed upon him, and made hereditary. After his death, which took place about 327 B. C., or according to some in 323, a statue was decreed to him, to be placed near the Eponymic heroes in the Agora. He was buried, with public honors, on the road to the Academy. Never for a moment did the popular opinion wrong this just and good man. So happily tempered were the virtues of his character and the powers of his understanding, that he always did the right thing in the best manner; and he was never misunderstood, and never suffered at the hands of his countrymen.

The most eminent among the opponents of Demosthenes was Æschines, born in 389 B. C. In each of the three orations of his which are preserved, he is pitted against his antagonist. Constantly compared with him, he is judged perhaps at a disadvantage; he is brought to a test which no man could stand. Of his early life, he has left us an account. Demosthenes, too, gives us a picture of it, and a very different one, as was perhaps to be expected. It seems probable that his father, Atrometus, was one of those whose fortunes were ruined by the Peloponnesian war. In his youth he assisted his father in the management of a small school. At the suitable age he performed the military duties of frontier service, required of young citizens. At a later period he was engaged in several foreign expeditions, and distinguished himself in several battles. At Tamynæ, B. C. 349, he exhibited such brilliant courage that Phocion crowned him on the field, and conferred on him the honor of bearing the news of the victory to Athens. His fortunes were still humble, and he supported himself for a time by assisting in the exercises of the gymnasia. Then, as he had a clear and powerful voice, he went upon the stage and tried his powers in tragic acting. But his success was not great. He was buffeted by the spectators, and was more than once hissed off the stage. Demosthenes, in retorting some of the personalities with which Æschines had assailed him, says that he was himself among the hissers. From the theatre he passed into one of the public offices, and became an inferior clerk or

secretary. This brought him into connection with two of the leading politicians, — Aristophon first, and afterwards Eubulus, whose party he joined. In 347 B. C., he was sent ambassador to Peloponnesus, and addressed the Megalopolitans in opposition to the envoys of Philip. In the same year he was sent on the embassy to negotiate with Philip; and during his residence in Macedonia he changed his political views, as was generally believed, under the personal influence of Philip and bribed by Philip's gold. From this moment the hostility between Æschines and Demosthenes was unceasing and bitter.

In 347 B. C. he delivered his speech against Timarchus. Timarchus and Demosthenes prosecuted Æschines for misconduct on the embassy. Æschines turned upon Timarchus, who appears to have been a man of profligate morals, and prosecuted him under a law which excluded from public life persons who had been guilty of certain vices. The oration is a most thorough and able, as well as vindictive, piece of personal attack, and Æschines gained his point in diverting the prosecution from himself for the moment. But two years afterward, B. C. 343, Demosthenes renewed the assault, and Æschines defended himself in the masterly reply, "On the Embassy," barely saving himself from condemnation. This event, of course, inflamed his enmity still more towards the great leader of the anti-Macedonian faction. He continued to labor against the patriotic party and in the interest of Philip; whether from corrupt motives and in the pay of the king, or because, like Phocion, he thought resistance to Macedonia useless and desperate, may perhaps admit of a doubt. The probability is, judging from the looseness of his character in general, and the temptation which Philip held out to men in his circumstances, that, while receiving the royal gold, he tried to flatter himself that it was all for the good of his country.

In 339 B. C., Æschines was sent to the Amphictyonic Council at Delphi, and there made a motion which led to an Amphictyonic war against the Locrians, and the appointment of Philip to the command of the Amphictyonic forces in the

succeeding year. This was followed by the seizure of Elateia; the alarm at Athens, when Philip's real designs were unmasked; and the disastrous battle of Chæroneia, B. C. 338, which struck the blow most fatal to the liberty of Greece. The spirit of party was high and violent at Athens. Demosthenes, who had been the soul of the confederacy, and had fought in the ranks, on his return to Athens was assailed by every form of legal annoyance and personal abuse; and when his political and personal friend, Ctesiphon, in order to bring the popular feeling to a test, proposed to confer on Demosthenes a golden crown, Æschines instantly stepped forward and arrested the proceeding by impeaching Ctesiphon under a process which I shall explain in the next Lecture. The oration which he delivered, when after several years the trial was held, was the last and the greatest effort of his genius. But able and eloquent as it was, the attack was unsuccessful. Æschines, feeling that his career was over, retired from Athens, wandered for a time among the cities of Asia Minor as a lecturer on rhetoric, established a school in Rhodes, and finally removed to Samos, where he died in 314 B. C.

The circumstances of his life were not very favorable to the formation of a lofty and patriotic character. It required more firmness than he possessed to resist the influences that surrounded him, — to bear the pressure of poverty with disdain for the temptations of wealth. No man ever doubted the integrity of Phocion, though impartial history must pronounce him perverse and ill-judging; but Æschines, agreeing with him as a political partisan, fell most justly under the general suspicion of having allowed himself to be tampered with by Philip and Alexander. Yet he a was man of undoubted genius and of unimpeached courage. In personal advantages, in robust health, in strength and clearness of voice, in external qualifications for the career of an orator, he was altogether superior to Demosthenes. His style is perspicuous, fluent, lively, and rhythmical; but the fatal facility of extemporaneous speaking deprived it of the compactness and nervous energy which dis-

tinguish the style of the master. What he chiefly wanted was integrity of soul and devotion to his country, — the great sources of the political eloquence which is to live forever in the hearts of men.

Before closing, I must say a few words of Hyperides, a political friend, and, with a single exception, an ardent supporter of Demosthenes. He was some years older than his leader; but the year of his birth is not known. He belonged to a wealthy family. In his youth he received the instructions of Plato and Isocrates, and in all other customary ways had the best education Athens could give him. From his own resources he contributed munificently to the public service. In 358 B. C. he procured a private subscription for forty triremes, in the war against Philip in Eubœa. In one year he served the trierarchic liturgy personally at Byzantium, and bore the expenses of a chorus at Athens. He was sent on an embassy to Rhodes in 351 B. C. In 346 he prosecuted Philocrates, one of the leading politicians in the interest of Philip. When Philip seized Elateia he was ambassador with Demosthenes to Thebes, and after the battle of Chæroneia he proposed a decree to give the rights of citizenship to resident aliens, to restore the ἄτιμοι, or degraded, to their former rank, and to send the women, children, and sacred objects down to Peiræus, preparatory to making a final stand against Philip. When prosecuted on a *paranomōn graphé*, that is, an indictment for proposing illegal measures, he said: "The Macedonian arms darkened my vision; it was not I who wrote the decree, but the battle of Chæroneia." He was one of the orators demanded by Alexander after the capture of Thebes. In the affair of Harpalus he separated from Demosthenes, having been previously his fast friend; but the ground of the difference was excessive zeal in opposition to Macedonia. Hyperides urged the Athenians to receive Harpalus, and to employ his treasures against the Macedonians; Demosthenes thought this imprudent, and, believing that it would bring down on Athens the irresistible vengeance of Alexander, — true patriot as he was, —

opposed it. In the litigations that grew out of this affair Hyperides was appointed one of the public prosecutors of Demosthenes and others, who were implicated in the report of the Areopagus. He discharged his duty with some degree of vehemence, and Demosthenes was compelled to go into exile. But these illustrious men were found side by side, after the death of Alexander, in the Lamian war, and were never separated again, except by death. Hyperides fled from Athens after the battle of Crannon, and took refuge in the temple of Æacus in Ægina, from which he was torn by Archias, the hunter of fugitives, sent a prisoner to Antipater, and put to a barbarous death.

All the ancient critics praise the acuteness, subtilty, and elegance of Hyperides, and delight in eulogizing his suavity, his wit, his urbanity, his irony, his gentlemanly humor; but we were obliged to take their word for it. Until 1850, all that was known of the sixty or more orations of which the titles remain was a few brief fragments, the largest of which was a short passage quoted by Stobæus from his funeral discourse. But there have been found among old papyri brought to England by Mr. Harris and Mr. Arden, first, a considerable portion of the oration on the case of Harpalus; secondly, nearly the whole of a judicial plea for Lycophron; thirdly, the whole of a speech for Euxenippus, — all curious and important in their illustrations of points in Attic law; and finally, the greater part of the funeral oration, pronounced in the Cerameicus at Athens, in honor of Leosthenes and the soldiers who fell in the Lamian war, — the last act of Grecian independence, B. C. 322. This oration was thought by the ancients one of his best; and, wholly apart from the singular interest that attaches to its recent discovery, it is certainly one of the most instructive documents of ancient literature. The topics are the praises of the city, of Leosthenes the commander, and of his fallen soldiers. He eulogizes their bravery, and the noble motives and character of Leosthenes; and brings in very happy allusions to Thermopylæ, which was in sight from the walls of Lamia.

I received a copy of this discourse a short time since; and I close by reading a few sentences from it, — the first time they have ever been heard by a modern audience.

"Our city deserves to be honored for having chosen a line of conduct more august and noble than any of her former deeds; the soldiers deserve our eulogy for their valor in war, and because they have done no discredit to the virtues of our ancestors; and Leosthenes, the general, for both: he was the author of the policy, and then became the commander of his countrymen in the war."

Speaking of the city, he says: "For as the sun passes over the whole earth, dividing the hours in his course, and clothing all things with beauty — " Here the envious hand of Time has torn away a piece from the manuscript, and the rest of this fine comparison is lost.

In speaking of the general, he says: "Leosthenes, seeing all Greece humiliated, and her ancient glory stained by those who had accepted bribes from Philip and Alexander to the ruin of their own countries, — seeing that our city wanted a man, and that all Greece wanted a city that should be able to assume the leadership, — consecrated himself to the liberty of Athens, and Athens to the liberty of the Greeks."

Again: "Who could not justly eulogize the citizens slain in this war, who gave their lives for the liberty of the Greeks, deeming it the most conspicuous proof of their devotion to the freedom of Hellas, that they were willing to die in battle for her defence? . . . . With Leosthenes, then, who strengthened his countrymen to dare such deeds unshrinkingly, and bravely to offer themselves as companions in arms to such a general, ought they not, on account of such a display of valor, to be rather pronounced happy, than unhappy in the loss of life, — they who have won for the mortal body immortal renown, and by their personal valor established the common liberty of the Greeks? Their fathers have become illustrious, and their mothers the objects of admiration to the citizens; their sisters have been, and will be, sought in distinguished marriages;

their sons will find access to the people's favor, by the virtue of those who have died, — no, not died, — this word does not apply to those who have laid down their lives for honor, — but have exchanged this life for a better post."

And finally: "If they have not partaken of the old age of mortality, they have yet received a renown untouched by age, and have become happy in all respects. Of those who have died childless, the applauses of the Greeks shall be the immortal offspring. For those who leave children, the country's gratitude shall be their children's guardian. Besides, if death be the same as never to have been born, they are freed from sickness and sorrow, and all the other evils that befall the life of man. But if there is knowledge in the other world, and God's care, as we believe, then those who have sustained the failing honors of the gods will most assuredly enjoy the highest favor of Heaven."

LECTURE XII.

DEMOSTHENES.

On the eastern side of Hymettus there lies a quiet and beautiful valley, still called by its ancient name of Mesogæa, or Midland. In the days of Athenian power this pleasant region was occupied by populous villages adorned with works of art, and the dwellings of citizens, who loved to retire from the tumults of the city, to breathe the country air and soothe their minds with rural employments. Just below the highest point of Hymettus lay the deme or district of Pæania, over which the shadows fell long before the sun went down behind the Arcadian hills or was hidden from the Acropolis. In this retired place, now marked by a few foundations of ancient houses, there lived in the first half of the fourth century B. C. the family of a wealthy and active citizen, not belonging to the ancient nobility of Athens, yet not without honorable distinction. The head of the family had a large establishment in the city for the manufacture of cutlery and furniture. By his honest and successful industry he had made a considerable fortune to add to the dower he received with his wife. He had married early in life the daughter of Gylon, an Athenian, who, placed in command of a military force, on a distant expedition, had incurred the popular displeasure by failure, and had established himself in the neighborhood of the Cimmerian Bosporus, where he received from one of the Greek princes an estate called the Gardens. Living in exile, and married to the daughter of a wealthy Greek colonist, he could not forget his native Athens. He sent his two daughters thither, and in course of time they were married, — the one to Democharès,

the other, Cleobule, to Demosthenes of Pæania, the sword-maker and furniture-dealer, whose country-seat was at the eastern foot of Mount Hymettus.

A few years later, a sickly boy of seven, clad in mourning, might be seen shyly walking through the streets of Athens, under the care of a domestic, to one of the schools where the sons of the richer citizens received the elements of education. The boy was too feeble and nervous to join in the rough play of his companions; but he was assiduous in his studies, easily roused to enthusiasm by noble and generous thoughts, serious and meditative altogether beyond his years. If he lingered on the way, it was to gaze on the Parthenon and the Propylæa, the beauty and splendor of which, felt but not understood, filled his soul and overflowed his eyes. Sometimes he would be seen at evening strolling in the shadows of Hymettus with a fair young girl, two years younger than himself, his own orphan sister. The mother was still alive, and watched with tender care over these two children, whose education she managed with more than usual intelligence. As the boy grew up, his ardor for study increased, and the best teachers were employed to direct his pursuits. In the arts of composition he was trained in the school of Isæus, perhaps also in that of Isocrates. Plato was then at the head of the Academy, and to that source of noble philosophy and splendid eloquence the youth resorted; and here he must often have met the young Aristotle, who, two years older, had come from Stageira to study under the same great master. As he strolled thoughtfully past the theatre, or through the Agora, or below the Pnyx, on his way to and from the place of instruction, he saw the dicasts assembling to sit in judgment on the lives and fortunes of the citizens, and the people crowding to the theatre or the Pnyx to hear the reports of ambassadors, and to debate on public questions of peace or war. Probably he would venture at times to follow the multitude upon the slope of the Pnyx, and, lingering on the outskirts of the assembly, would catch the accents of the orators from the bema. No doubt his soul

was often stirred to its depths by the animating sights and thrilling sounds that met the eye and ear in that central scene of throbbing democratic life; and the excited boy went to his quiet home under the shadows of Hymettus, musing on what he had beheld and heard, and full of vague aspirations and dreamy hopes. But alas! nature had denied him the strength for the palæstra, and the sturdy boys of his age despised the slender and puny stripling, whose awkward manner, straggling motions, and lisping articulation made him a butt for their rude jests, and, as they thought, a proper subject of the barbarous wit which delights in giving insulting nicknames.

On one occasion, when he was still a youth of fifteen, he persuaded his attendant to accompany him to the court, where Callistratus, an orator, statesman, and general, was to be tried on the charge of having betrayed Oropos to the Thebans. The tutor, having some acquaintance, as Plutarch says, with the doorkeepers, secured a place where the boy might sit unseen and hear what was said. The speech of Callistratus appears to have been powerful and eloquent, and to have excited the enthusiasm of the youth to the highest pitch. From this moment his career was chosen, in spite of every obstacle. From this moment he devoted himself to the studies which should qualify him to be an advocate and an orator.

In the course of his reading he came upon the history of the Peloponnesian war, by Thucydides. There were in the style and sentiments of this immortal work just the qualities to seize upon the earnest spirit of the young man. In the clear and compact narrative, the profound philosophy, the nervous eloquence of the speeches, especially in the noble image of his country's glory presented in the great oration of Pericles over those who had fallen in the war, the student found a tone which made his heart-strings vibrate, and filled his soul with inexpressible delight. With his own hand he copied the work eight times, and thus made himself master of all its treasures of thought and style.

Such were the childhood and youth of Demosthenes, son of

Demosthenes the Pæanian, and of Cleobule, born at the Gardens in the Cimmerian Bosporus. The year of his birth is disputed, the dates varying from B. C. 385 to 380; but the most probable date is B. C. 382. After the death of his father his affairs were managed by guardians appointed by the will of the elder Demosthenes, — Aphobus, Demophon, and Therippides. Under a very peculiar provision of the Attic law, the will directed that the widow should marry Aphobus, he receiving with her a dowry of eighty minæ (about fourteen hundred dollars); that Demophon should marry the daughter when she reached the proper age, with a dowry of two talents (two thousand dollars); and that Therippides should receive the interest of seventy minæ — which at twelve per cent, the legal rate of interest, would have been about one hundred and forty dollars annually — until the son should be of age. The whole estate was estimated at about fifteen talents. The unfaithful guardians took not only the money devised to them, but a great deal more; while in the matter of the marriages they failed to comply with the provisions of the will, to the great satisfaction, I have no doubt, both of the mother and the daughter. But when Demosthenes reached his majority, he found from the accounts of these dishonest men that he was to receive only seventy minæ, — not quite twelve hundred dollars. The training he had received under Isæus had given him a familiarity with the laws of inheritance, and without delay he commenced a suit against the guardians for the recovery of his property. The case was twice examined by the Diætetæ, or arbitrators, who decided in favor of the suitor. Finally it was carried before the Archon, in an action against Aphobus alone, and the court awarded to the claimant ten talents. He probably received some portion of the money; for we find that his position was always that of a man of sufficient means, and his studies were by no means abandoned or remitted at this time.

The pleas of the young orator have been preserved. They are models of the clear statement of facts, — giving an exact

inventory of the estate at the time of his father's death, and the value of each item of property,—of close logical argument, and of cogent application of the principles of the law. They show a sound head, good judgment, and the most practical mode of dealing with practical subjects; but the occasion required none of those peculiar and commanding powers which afterwards swayed the hearts and intellects of the people. They give us a very favorable opinion of the taste and sense of the young pleader, and of the calm, judicial character of the court. There is a difficulty in fixing the early dates in the career of Demosthenes, on account of the conflicting statements as to the year of his birth. These proceedings, however, appear to have commenced in 366 B. C., and the suit against Aphobus to have been decided in 364 B. C.

Demosthenes was no doubt encouraged by his success in this cause to continue to study the art of speaking, and to venture to address the people. But he found that it was one thing to argue a question of inheritance before a court of law, and quite another to stand upon the bema and address the multitude on a matter of public interest. Here his personal defects — his short breath, his indistinct utterance, his clumsily constructed sentences, and his awkward angular gestures — told terribly against him. His speech was worse than a failure; it was derided and hooted at. Again and again he hazarded himself on the bema; but the assembly refused to hear him, and the dream of his youth seemed on the point of vanishing forever. Yet there were persons present who had the sagacity to discern under this unpromising exterior the true value of the hidden germ. Eunomus, an old man, who in his boyhood had listened to Pericles, meeting Demosthenes one day, as he strolled disconsolately about the Peiræus, took him to task for giving up so easily, accused him of a mean and cowardly spirit, and ended by paying him the splendid compliment of comparing his diction to that of Pericles. We can easily imagine the thrill of delight which shot through the young man's frame when he heard this encouraging comment. On another occa-

sion, Satyrus, the player, his familiar friend, followed him as he slunk away from the assembly with his head muffled up, and, drawing him into conversation, listened kindly to his complaint, that, while sots and ignorant fellows were readily heard and carried away the applauses of the people, he, the most industrious and painstaking of the speakers, could find no acceptance. Satyrus begged him to recite some passage from Sophocles or Euripides. Demosthenes complied. Satyrus repeated the lines after him, with proper tone, action, and look, so that it appeared to Demosthenes a wholly different thing. He now gave himself up to the severest labors, resolved that he would remedy his own defects. He told Demetrius Phalereus, many years afterwards, that he overcame his inarticulate and stammering pronunciation by speaking with pebbles in his mouth; that he strengthened his voice by declaiming and reciting verses and speeches, when out of breath, while running, or walking up hill; and that in his house he had a large mirror, before which he stood and went through his exercises. We learn from other sources that he was accustomed to walk on the long beach of Phalerum, and declaim to the waves, that he might learn not to be disconcerted by the tumults of a stormy popular assembly. I have myself walked over the same long beach, — though not for the same purpose, — and, recalling Demosthenes, brought away some of the pebbles, hoping that they might be of use to some of my Demosthenean friends. The story of his shutting himself up and shaving one half of his head, that he might not dare to venture out for months at a time, is somewhat apocryphal. But he made every subject that came up in his common intercourse with the citizens subservient to his one great object, "taking from hence," says Plutarch, "occasions and arguments to work upon." After a conversation or discussion, he would retire from the company, go over again all the topics by himself, and reduce the subject-matter to writing, starting objections, rearranging the arguments, and changing the forms of expression in every possible way. Perseverance such as his deserved success, and he

gained it at no distant time. His first prosecution of Meidias took place in 361 B. C. The speech is lost, but the cause was gained.

To the year 355 B. C. belongs one of the most remarkable and interesting orations of Demosthenes, — one praised by Dionysius as being the most finished and graceful of all his works, and placed by Wolf next in excellence to the Oration on the Crown. It is the oration against the law of Leptines, delivered on the following occasion. The finances of Athens were in an embarrassed condition, and a citizen, Leptines by name, with the view of relieving the treasury of some of its burdens, proposed and carried a law that no citizen or resident alien should be exempt from the ordinary public burdens or the costly liturgies, except the descendants of Harmodius and Aristogeiton. One form of rewarding distinguished public services was to grant such exemption, under the name of ἀτέλεια, which was sometimes bestowed in perpetuity upon the family of a benefactor of the state. But it was argued by Leptines and those who supported his proposition, that this honor and privilege had been profusely and unwisely granted, and was now held by many unworthy persons, to the damage of the state. The proposer of a new law was liable, for one year after its passage, to prosecution for unconstitutional procedure. A person named Bathippus resorted to this process; but before the case came to trial he died, and no further proceedings were held until after the year had expired. This exempted Leptines from any further personal liability; but the law itself might still be made the object of a legitimate attack. Aphepsion, the son of Bathippus, and Ctesippus, the son of Chabrias, the latter of whom inherited the immunity from his father, renewed the prosecution, under the form of an impeachment of the law. According to legal precedents, the author of the law and four others were appointed advocates to defend it. The prosecutors engaged Phormion and Demosthenes as counsel. Phormion spoke for Aphepsion, and Demosthenes for Ctesippus. Of all the speeches made on this very interest-

ing trial, that of Demosthenes is the only one preserved. The arguments on the other side are to be inferred mainly from this speech. The reasons against the law are various; but the most important and interesting point, in a general view of political ethics, is the high ground assumed by the young advocate in support of the public faith. He presses other considerations with great force upon the minds of the jury, — such as the slight advantage it would be to the state, in a pecuniary point of view, to revoke these immunities, the inexpediency and danger of taking away or lessening the power of the people to encourage public virtue by the variety of public rewards, and the damage which this would cause to the interests of the state, in abating the good-will they had hitherto enjoyed on the part of foreign citizens and rulers. But the great point on which Demosthenes relies is the sacredness and inviolability of the public faith. On this point he early lays down the highest principle, and makes it the foundation of his whole argument. He says: "How is it otherwise than disgraceful, men of Athens, when a law has been passed requiring the truth to be spoken in the market-place, in cases where a falsehood works no harm to the community, that the same city which has enjoined this duty upon private citizens should not observe the truth in public affairs, but should defraud those who have rendered her services, and that too with the certainty of bringing on herself a heavy penalty? For you are to consider whether you are to love money alone, and not also an honorable fame, for which you are more anxious than for money; nor you alone, but your ancestors. The proof is, that, when they had acquired the most abundant wealth, they spent it all for honor, they shrank from no dangers for glory, and persevered to the end, lavishing their private fortunes besides in the same cause. Now, however, instead of an honorable name, this law attaches to the state a dishonored one, unworthy of your ancestors and yourselves; for it brings upon us three of the greatest reproaches, — the reputation of being envious, unfaithful, ungrateful."

Such is the principle of public morality which Demosthenes presses on the people, as the chief inducement to repeal a law which they have inconsiderately passed, — a law which violated the public faith by impairing the obligation of a solemn contract. In its scope and substance the argument of Demosthenes may be compared with Mr. Webster's plea for Dartmouth College before the Supreme Court of the United States. Both of the great lawyers had the like success; both vindicated the public honor, and established, with an invincible force of reasoning, the sanctity of the faith of a state when once pledged by legislative enactment. It gives us a good opinion of our judicial institutions, when we find the supreme tribunal peacefully undoing the work of mischievous legislation, and the commonwealth thus overruled meekly submitting to the high mandate of justice; — does it not give us an equally good opinion of the people of Athens, when we see them quietly undoing their own ill-considered work, under the persuasion of the lofty words of truth and honor from the lips of that young man?

In 354 B. C., ten years after the successful pleading against Aphobus, Demosthenes, being now probably twenty-eight years old, delivered a most able and statesmanlike argument against the project, then much favored by the popular leaders, of making war against Persia. It had been years before a frequent topic in the political discourses of Isocrates; and the popular feeling was easily roused by the prospect of victories in the East. But Demosthenes, though young, and eager for popular applause, yet, foreseeing what many older and more experienced men either did not foresee or had not the courage to say, warned the Athenians that they had enemies enough at home without provoking hostilities abroad, and that their true policy was, not to exhaust themselves in a foreign war, but to introduce into their public administration such reforms as would enable them to meet successfully any foe from whatever quarter he might come. He therefore seized the opportunity of proposing certain changes in the naval department that would

render it more efficient. On the Persian question the young statesman carried the assembly with him; no naval reform was adopted until several years afterward. The speech closes in this just and moderate tone: "That I may not weary you, men of Athens, with long speaking, I will close after having repeated the heads of my advice. I advise you to prepare against the enemies you have; to defend yourselves against the king and all others, if they attempt to injure you, with this same force; but to begin no unjust word or deed, and to see to it that our actions, and not the speeches on the bema, be worthy of our ancestors. If you do this, you will do what is for your own interest, and for the interest of those who give you the opposite advice; for you will not afterwards make them feel your anger for the errors into which they would have led you."

When we consider the circumstances under which this oration was delivered, the orator's former experience of the temper of the popular assembly, and his eager desire to win the ear of the people, we cannot but admire the independence and the moral courage required to resist the popular current, no less than the sagacity of the young statesman, who saw clearly what the true interests of his country demanded.

The speech on Megalopolis was delivered in the following year, urging the Athenians to protect that city against the Lacedæmonians. Here again the young orator takes a very sober and practical view of the interests of his country; but they had not the wisdom to follow his counsels, and so alienated the Arcadian confederacy that, when they again needed aid against the designs of Sparta, they applied, not to Athens, but to Philip, and thus gave that wily prince an opportunity to interfere and intrigue in the affairs of the Peloponnesus.

In the course of the same year Demosthenes prosecuted Meidias for an outrage committed on his person during a sacred festival in which he had taken a leading part. His tribe — the Pandionian — had neglected for two years to make the usual preparations for the liturgy in the lyrical, musical, and dramatic

entertainments; and in 354 B. C., to save the honor of the tribe, Demosthenes had volunteered to bear the expenses of the Choregia. Meidias, who nursed some old resentments growing out of the prosecution of the guardians, showed his malignant disposition by every species of impertinent annoyance, and at length proceeded to open violence by entering the goldsmith's shop and endeavoring to destroy the golden crowns which the orator had provided for his chorus, and finally by inflicting blows upon Demosthenes, while performing his duties in the orchestra in the sacred character of Choregus. After the festival was over Demosthenes prosecuted him, first, under the process called a *probolé*, before the people, somewhat like the modern inquest before a grand-jury; and, they having decided that there was sufficient ground of action, the case was referred for adjudication to one of the courts. It is uncertain whether it ever came to trial; Plutarch asserts that it was compromised on the payment of thirty minæ (about five hundred dollars); and Æschines, in the Oration against Ctesiphon, accuses Demosthenes of having accepted money for blows. Mr. Grote, however, is of opinion that the cause came to trial, and some expressions in the existing speech imply that terms of settlement had been offered and rejected.

These speeches, taken in connection with the facts of his biography, suffice to show how firm and strong was the character enshrined in the slender form of Demosthenes, and how lofty were the principles of public and private morality which he had bravely adopted, before he brought them to the test of the life-long conflict for which Providence was preparing him.

Up to this time no mention has been made of Philip and Macedonian affairs. He had undoubtedly watched the course of that monarch with the closest scrutiny, and formed his own opinion both of his designs and of his ability to accomplish them. Among the topics of conversation at Athens in his youth, the residence of the prince in Thebes must have often occurred; and when he repaired to the Macedonian capital, assumed the government, and proceeded with such extraordinary vigor to

put down all opposition, I cannot doubt that the young statesman at Athens was vigilantly observing every event in his course. When the time came for him to take his ground, his mind was made up, and his knowledge of Philip was exact and thorough; and it may be added, that, though he was not the only opponent of the Macedonian policy, he was the one man in Athens who best comprehended it. Philip had been king seven years. He had organized a powerful army; he had taken Amphipolis, B. C. 358; he had reduced Pydna and Potidæa. He had begun to work the mines near Philippi, from which he derived a thousand talents a year. In 354 B. C. he attacked Methone, the only remaining possession of the Athenians on the Thermaic Gulf, and he now threatened their possessions in the Chersonesus, where several years before he had made some hostile demonstrations. He interfered in the Phocian war; took Pheræ, and laid siege to Pagasæ; and, though the Athenians had succeeded in preventing him from passing the strait of Thermopylæ by sending a fleet thither, yet, as Mr. Grote says, "the king of Macedon had become the ascendant soldier and potentate, hanging on the skirts of the Grecian world, exciting fears or hopes, or both at once, in every city throughout its limits." The attack of Philip on Heræon Teichos, a stronghold near the Athenian possessions, towards the end of 352 B. C., excited much alarm, and the question what was to be done was earnestly debated in the Pnyx. The older statesmen were Eubulus and Phocion. Demosthenes was a careful observer of what was going forward, and, thinking their counsels wholly unsuited to so grave an emergency, early in 351 B. C. he pronounced his first oration against Philip and his designs, he himself being about thirty-one years of age. At the assembly at which it was delivered he was the first to speak, for which, in the opening part of the address, he makes a modest apology. Young as he was, and important as was the crisis in public affairs, the oration shows not only the most commanding eloquence, but administrative talent of the highest character. He boldly points out the faults of the

people of Athens, their supineness, negligence, and treasonable and dangerous love of pleasure, and lays before them in detail a scheme of public policy which will remedy the past and give security for the future. Philip has gained all his advantages by his incessant activity; "for all are willing to support and give heed to those who are prepared and prompt to do their duty." Such is the key-note of this most animating address. "When, men of Athens, will you do what is required? When what shall have happened? Why, when it is necessary, to be sure. But now, what are we to think of the events taking place? I think the greatest necessity for freemen is shame for the condition of their affairs. Do you wish, tell me, to run about and inquire of each other, 'Is there any news?' Why, what greater news can there be than a Macedonian man subduing Athenians in war, and regulating the affairs of the Greeks? Is Philip dead? No, but he is sick. What difference does that make to you? None; for if anything should happen to him, you will quickly create another Philip, if you continue thus to give heed to your affairs. For he has grown in power not so much by his own strength as by your negligence."

In another place he illustrates the unmethodical and improvident way in which the Athenians have conducted the war with Philip by a plain but very apt comparison. "You, men of Athens, have the largest forces, — ships of war, infantry, cavalry, pecuniary supplies, — but down to the present day you have not used one of them to any good purpose. You carry on the war with Philip just as the barbarians box. Among them, he who is struck always clears to the blow; if you strike him in another place, there go his hands; to put himself on guard, to look you in the eye, he neither knows how nor desires to do so. And you, if you hear of Philip in the Chersonesus, vote to send a force there; if in Thermopylæ, there; if anywhere else, the same. You run up and down after his movements, and are led by him; you have formed no plan for the war; you foresee nothing before the events, before

you have learned that something has happened or is happening."

After the most stirring appeals to the honorable pride of his fellow-citizens, he closes, kindly and modestly: "I have never before chosen to speak for your favor that which I have not been persuaded would be for your good; and now I have uttered all that I think, freely, honestly, and without disguise. I could wish that, as I know it will be for your interest to hear the best counsels, I equally knew it would be for the advantage of him who gives them. For I should then have spoken with much more satisfaction to myself. But now, quite uncertain of what will be the result to me personally, I nevertheless have determined to give this advice, in the thorough conviction that it will be for your good if you act according to it. And may that prevail which shall benefit you all!"

In 351 B. C., Demosthenes delivered a speech on the freedom of the Rhodians, advising the Athenians to support the popular party there. Here again he had to run counter to the passions of the moment, as the Athenians, irritated by injuries which they had received, were disinclined to aid the Rhodians in this emergency. Demosthenes was wise enough to see that conciliation was the best policy, and advised a generous course; but the people were not wise enough to adopt his counsel, and suffered for their folly, as they always did. He closes thus: "I think you ought to take hold of this business with vigor, and to adopt a line of conduct worthy of the city, remembering that you delight to hear the praises of your ancestors, the narrative of their exploits, and the enumeration of their trophies. Bear in mind, then, that your ancestors consecrated these trophies, not only that you might admire them as you gaze upon them, but that you might imitate the virtues of those who consecrated them."

In 349 B. C., when Philip attacked the Olynthians, they sent ambassadors to Athens to implore aid against him. Demosthenes delivered, in the course of that year, the three spirited and eloquent speeches bearing the title of the Olynthiacs, in support

of the requests of the Olynthian ambassadors. In their general tone they resemble the Philippics. Perhaps the attacks upon Philip are even bolder and more energetic. Thus, in speaking of the necessary insecurity of his power, on account of the wrongs he has committed in acquiring it, the orator bursts out: "It is not possible, it is not possible, men of Athens, that a man can acquire permanent power by injustice, perjury, and falsehood. Such things succeed for once, and last for a little while, and flourish mightily in promise, but they are detected in time, and fall in ruin upon themselves. For as the foundation of a house or ship or other such structure must be the strongest part, so the rules and principles of conduct must be true and just. And this is not the case with the actions of Philip." Notwithstanding the eloquence of Demosthenes and the efforts of the Athenians, the fate of Olynthus was at length sealed through the treachery of two of its citizens, — Lasthenes and Euthycrates, corrupted by Philip.

During the Olynthian war, Philip had given some hints of a desire to make peace with Athens. Philocrates moved the sending an embassy to open negotiations; and Æschines, Demosthenes, and others — ten in all — were joined with him. On their return they were soon followed by ministers from Philip. The terms of a treaty were discussed in two assemblies, and were agreed to by a committee appointed to represent the people, who in that capacity took the customary oath. The same persons were sent to Macedonia on a second embassy, with instructions to receive the oaths from Philip at the earliest possible moment. Against the remonstrances of Demosthenes, they lingered on the way; and when they arrived at Pella, and found that the king was absent on an expedition to the Bosporus, instead of following him thither, and exchanging the ratifications at once, according to their instructions, they remained quiet for three months, awaiting his return, even then allowed him to complete his preparations for his meditated attack on the Phocians, and accompanied him on his march to Thessaly, where at length the ceremony was

performed; and the ambassadors, returning, made their report. Demosthenes charged several of his colleagues with having adopted this extraordinary course because they were bribed by the king; but for the moment the people chose to accept the explanations, not very credible or intelligible, which they gave; and the consequence was that Philip's long-meditated designs were easily accomplished. He passed Thermopylæ without opposition, and, conquering Phocis without difficulty, succeeded to the seat of that state in the Amphictyonic Assembly, as has been already related. The people of Athens now could not help opening their eyes. They saw themselves completely outwitted by the craft of Philip, and by the criminal negligence or corruption of a majority of their ministers. In the violence of their indignation, they threatened to declare war against Philip; but Demosthenes, — now known as the most strenuous opponent of the king, — in a short and vigorous speech, persuaded them that this would be an unwise and imprudent step. It would involve them in a general war with the Amphictyonic states; and he said it was not worth while to incur such danger and expense in fighting for the shadow in Delphi.

From this time Demosthenes was the undisputed head of the anti-Macedonian party, and the political hostility between him and Æschines was unrelenting and bitter. In 343 B. C. Demosthenes prosecuted his opponent on a charge of corrupt conduct in the embassy, but failed to procure a conviction. Philip continued his intrigues in nearly all the Grecian states; but Demosthenes everywhere met his agents, and set himself in the sternest opposition to them. He urged the necessity of union, by every consideration that patriotic ardor and unsurpassed ability suggested, with a perseverance which no labor could exhaust or fatigue, and a courage greater than was ever shown by a warrior on the field of battle. But the dissensions in the state, the want of public virtue in the leading citizens, the general disposition to make the most of the present, regardless of the future, and the despair of good men as to the resto-

ration of the sturdy virtues of former times, rendered his efforts unsuccessful, except in brief moments of alarm; and he failed to bring about any permanent and united system of opposition to the encroachments of the Northern intriguer.

In 344 B. C. Demosthenes delivered the second Philippic two years later he uttered the vigorous and admirable oration on the affairs of the Chersonesus, in which he answered Philip's complaints against Diopeithes, the commander of the Athenian force operating in that peninsula; and this was followed by the third Philippic.

In 340 B. C. Philip laid siege to Byzantium; persuaded by Demosthenes, the Athenians sent a strong naval force to its relief, and the king was compelled to raise the siege. In this same year Demosthenes succeeded in effecting the naval reform which he had recommended before. In this year, also, a very important transaction — to which a brief reference was made in the last Lecture — occurred at the Amphictyonic Assembly, on the proposition of Æschines, who was then one of the representatives at Delphi. Æschines proposed a decree against the Locrians of Amphissa, for having sacrilegiously occupied and cultivated a portion of the sacred lands. An extraordinary meeting of the Assembly was called to decide what should be done with them; and the deputies were directed to bring instructions from their constituents. At Athens, Demosthenes, foreseeing, with his usual sagacity, the evil consequences that would follow from such a war, resisted successfully the motion of Æschines, and the Athenians sent no deputy. All that Demosthenes foresaw happened. After a time Philip was appointed commander of the Amphictyonic forces, which gave him the opportunity he had long desired, of marching at the head of an army into the heart of Greece. He occupied the important post of Elateia, and fortified it. The news was despatched to Athens with all speed, and caused there the greatest consternation. An assembly was called the next morning. No one dared to rise, so perplexed and confounded were all the statesmen. Æschines was dumb, and

universal terror pervaded the meeting. But Demosthenes, waiting to see if any of his opponents had anything to say, at length, as they were all speechless, took the bema, and in a powerful speech urged an immediate alliance with Thebes, as the only means of averting destruction. His advice was promptly taken. Hyperides and Demosthenes were put upon the mission. They hurried to Thebes, and found an eloquent and able representative of Philip already on the ground. Demosthenes answered him in detail, point by point, in the presence of the Theban people, and carried the day. The forces of the two cities were immediately united; and so formidable was their display of vigor that Philip was alarmed. Partial engagements followed, in which the confederates were successful, and all was joy and exultation at Athens. Philip sued for peace, and the Thebans were inclined to grant it; but Demosthenes, seeing that such a measure was all in Philip's favor, and that now or never was the time to strike a blow for national independence, resisted the proposition with such force of argument that it was wholly abandoned. The army marched to Chæroneia, and there was overthrown by that fatal defeat, with the loss of a thousand Athenian citizens — and of the liberty of Greece.

After the battle, Demosthenes returned to Athens, and was immediately charged with the duty of superintending the fortifications, as it was supposed that Philip would march directly upon the city and besiege it. As he did not take this course, a general system of repairs was adopted, and appropriations were made from the public treasury, Demosthenes adding largely from his own private resources. He was elected by the people to pronounce the eulogy on those who fell at Chæroneia, — a remarkable fact, when it is considered that this disastrous event was, in one sense, the result of his policy. His antagonists and personal enemies did not scruple to seize the opportunity of assailing him by every form which the laws of Athens allowed, and he was daily harassed by the attacks of such contemptible persons as Sosicles, Diondas, Melan-

thus, and other *sycophants*, in the interest, if not in the pay, of Macedonia, and then swarming in the city. Their object was to ruin him in the estimation of the country, by making the people believe that he had been a traitor, and a bad and profligate man in private, and that he deserved the execrations of his countrymen. To bring the matter to a point, Ctesiphon, a political friend of the illustrious statesman, moved in the Senate of the Five Hundred, that a golden crown be voted to Demosthenes, in token of the public approbation of the fidelity and ability with which he had served his country. This was one of the ancient forms of rewarding great civic merit. The motion was immediately carried in the Senate; but, before it could be executed, the law required that it should also pass the popular assembly. Another provision of Attic law permitted any citizen to arrest a legislative act, at the first stage, by prosecuting the author of it for *unconstitutional proceeding*. The question thus raised had to be decided by due course of law, before the proposed measure could be consummated. Availing himself of this provision, Æschines, the leader of the Macedonian party at Athens, prosecuted Ctesiphon on what was technically called a *paranomōn graphé*, alleging that the laws had been violated in three points; — first, by proposing to crown a still accountable officer; secondly, by unlawfully changing the prescribed place; and thirdly, the most important of all, by proposing to crown a man who was unworthy of public respect.

Ctesiphon was the ostensible object of the prosecution; but everybody knew that it was to be a violent attack on Demosthenes. Demosthenes, therefore, appeared in court, technically as of counsel for Ctesiphon, but in effect to defend his own public and private life. Ctesiphon opened the defence, probably in a brief speech *pro forma*, but this is not preserved. The great battle was fought by Demosthenes. The city of Athens was crowded by a concourse of visitors, assembled to witness such a display of forensic powers as never was seen before or since; for a long interval — seven or eight years —

had occurred between the entering of the complaint and the trial, and the points of the case had been generally discussed, on account of the eminence of the parties.

Of the oration delivered by Æschines I have already spoken as undoubtedly the ablest of all his productions; but it was far inferior to that of Demosthenes in force and cogency of argument, in severity of invective, and in loftiness of moral tone and patriotic spirit. Æschines not only failed to gain his point; he received not one fifth of the votes, nor enough to save him from the penalties of malicious prosecution. What became of him was related in the last Lecture.

Philip was assassinated in 336 B. C., two years after the battle of Chæroneia. The efforts of Demosthenes to form a new combination against Macedonia were defeated by the unexpected energy of Alexander; and the destruction of Thebes, B. C. 335, was the last warning the youthful monarch gave just before he set out on his Eastern campaign. During his absence Greece remained in quiet, though the leaders were watching the opportunity for another outbreak. The arrival, B. C. 325, of Harpalus, whom Alexander had left in Babylon in charge of his treasures, and who had proved faithless to his trust, gave, as some thought, the desired opportunity. He brought with him seven or eight hundred talents of the royal gold, and asked to be received into the city; and now, as I stated in speaking of Hyperides, occurred the first and only break in the political concord of Demosthenes and Hyperides. The latter ardently advocated the reception of Harpalus, and the employment of the money in stirring up a rebellion against Alexander; the former opposed it as rash, and dangerous to the city. No doubt he recalled the fate of Thebes, and anticipated a similar doom for his beloved Athens, foreseeing no possibility of resisting the terrible Macedonian, should he return fierce for blood and flushed with his Oriental conquests. He steadily opposed the petition of Harpalus, evidently on the best of grounds; but when, after his arrival, the money was placed in the city treasury, and the amount of it was found to

be much less than the sum Harpalus had mentioned on having been, at the suggestion of Demosthenes, questioned in the assembly, the inquiry was instantly started, Who could have taken it? The discrepancy amounted to the enormous sum of about three hundred talents; and every public man became at once an object of suspicion. On motion of Demosthenes the investigation of the subject was referred to the Areopagus. That body spent about six months in the inquiry, and finally made a most extraordinary report, in which they mentioned a number of names, and specified the sums the persons bearing them had taken, but gave no facts or proofs in confirmation of their statement. This report was made the basis of legal proceedings, and Hyperides was appointed one of the prosecutors of those who were implicated by the Areopagus. The case was tried, and Demosthenes was condemned. He made his escape from the prison to which he was first committed, with the connivance, it is thought, of the magistrates, and passed the time of his exile partly at Trœzen, and partly at Ægina, whence he could look over the sea to the shores of his native land. As I have mentioned, portions of the oration of Hyperides have lately been found, — evidently the main points of the accusation. Like the Areopagus, he furnishes no proof whatever. His great argument is simply the report of the Areopagus: "That you received the gold, I consider it a sufficient proof for the jury that the Areopagus condemned you." Again: "Permission was granted them to return the gold; they have not restored it, and what are we to do with them? Let them go unpunished? It were shameful, judges, thus to hazard the safety of the city."

Mr. Grote has carefully examined the case, and arrived at the conclusion that the report of the Areopagus and the verdict of the jury were both political. Both bodies dreaded the vengeance of Alexander; and to appease his formidable wrath, they selected the men who were most obnoxious to him, and condemned them without proof, as a kind of sacrifice to a supposed political necessity. It seems to me that this is the true view

of the case, not only from the incorruptible character of Demosthenes, the absence of every particle of evidence, and the very peculiar turn of the argument of Hyperides, but from the fact that, after the death of Alexander, the two orators were found in cordial co-operation; that the Athenians unanimously recalled Demosthenes from exile; that he was brought from Ægina in a public ship, and when he landed at the Peiræus was met by crowds of Athenian citizens of every age, with the magistrates of the city, and escorted, with every demonstration of joy and affection, to his home; and that he pronounced this the happiest day of his life, which he assuredly could not have done had he been conscious of guilt.

Alas! this joy was but transient. The defeat of the new confederates at Crannon, the march of Antipater and Craterus upon Athens, and the hard terms imposed upon the conquered city, drove the patriotic party again to despair. Demosthenes and his friends fled from Athens to such places of refuge as they thought might protect them from the wrath of the conquering barbarians. The temple of Neptune at Calaureia, a little inland town near the western shore of the Saronic Gulf, was selected by Demosthenes; but the sacredness of the asylum did not shield him from the rage of Archias, the fugitive hunter, — the brutal officer of Antipater, who pursued him to his retreat. Demosthenes was the only one of the patriots who was not carried alive into the presence of the tyrant, and subjected to vindictive tortures by the enraged miscreant whom fortune had so capriciously favored. Finding himself wholly at the mercy of his enemies, and knowing what that mercy meant, he escaped their vengeance by swallowing poison, which he had long carried about his person; and when it began to take effect, he rose from the altar, staggered to the door in order not to pollute the temple by the presence of a corpse, and fell dead upon the earth.

The greatest of his orations, the greatest speech ever delivered, is doubtless his Oration on the Crown. To be understood fully it must of course be studied long, carefully, and in the in-

comparable original. It is a complete and most triumphant answer to each and all of the charges of Æschines; but, of course, he dwells the longest on the general impeachment of his character. Æschines had declaimed in the most vehement style, had accused him of all kinds of vices, especially of showing himself a coward at Chæroneia, and had assumed for the moment the tone of lofty virtue towards the object of his hatred. "And," says he, — "what is of the greatest importance, — if the young men ask you on what kind of model they must form their lives, what will you answer? For you know well, men of Athens, that neither the palæstræ, nor the schools, nor liberal education, can train the young, but the public proclamation far more. A man of unseemly and profligate life is proclaimed in the theatre as crowned for his virtue, noble conduct, and loyalty; the young, seeing this, are corrupted. A bad and infamous person, like Ctesiphon, has paid the penalty of his vices; the young are instructed. A man, having rendered a verdict contrary to what is noble and just, returning home, attempts to give his son a lesson; but the youth naturally pays no heed to him, and admonition under such circumstances is justly regarded as an annoyance. Cast your votes, then, not only as men sitting in judgment, but as being yourselves the objects of scrutiny, that you may have a defence to offer to those citizens who are not present, but who will question you upon your decision. For you know well, men of Athens, that the city will appear to be of such a character as is the man who is crowned."

On the charge of cowardice, what were the facts? It was originally the false charge of two political enemies; it was copied from them by the uncritical Plutarch. What were the facts? Demosthenes, after having by his able diplomacy brought about the alliance with Thebes, notwithstanding the artifices and the power of Philip, proceeded to organize the confederated army, which encountered the Macedonian phalanx on the fatal field of Chæroneia. In this army he — the statesman at the head of affairs — volunteered as a common soldier, when he might have remained at Athens without a

word of censure. Did that look like cowardice? He fought in the ranks, and he was *not* killed. Is that a proof that he fled like a poltroon? His escape was doubtless much to the chagrin of Æschines, who did *not* risk his own life against the foes of his country, but stayed at home and calumniated those who did. Demosthenes returned to Athens from that disastrous field; and how did the people of Athens receive him? What did they — the sufferers — do and say? They brought their general to trial, and condemned him. They appointed Demosthenes superintendent of the fortifications, against which they supposed Philip would bring his battering engines in a few days, and they requested him to deliver the funeral oration over the ashes of those who had fallen in the battle. Would they have placed a coward in charge of their defences? Would they have chosen a deserter of his post to give utterance to the common sorrow for the death of companions in arms whom he had left to perish? The questions answer themselves. This tribute, under circumstances which would have made, as Demosthenes himself remarked, some popular injustice towards their great leader not unnatural, is mentioned by him in reply to the cruel taunts of Æschines with a touching sensibility and a noble pride. And, in truth, it was not only an honor in which he might properly exult, but an act which sheds eternal lustre upon the Athenian people.

In answer to personal abuse of a more general kind, Demosthenes says: "With regard to his abuse and slander of my private life, see how simple and just is my reply. If you know me to be such as the prosecutor charged, (I have lived nowhere but among you,) do not listen to my voice, however excellent may have been my public measures, but rise up instantly and give your verdict against me."

Æschines described Demosthenes as a sort of evil demon, who had led the country to ruin, and ruined all who had anything to do with him. Demosthenes admits, what could not be denied, that the results were disastrous to the country; but standing up in his moral dignity, he appealed to the examples

of the past, of those illustrious heroes who had laid broad and deep, in brave deeds and generous sacrifices, the foundations of Athenian glory. Was he, the Athenian statesman, with these examples before him, and the immortal monuments of their renown meeting his eye in whatever direction it turned, the Parthenon, the Propylæa, the memorial statues that stood in every open space and on every consecrated height, — was he, Demosthenes, the man to give mean and cowardly counsels to such a city because struggles and perils were threatening? Was he to sit down patiently and see the glories of Athens tarnished by an ignoble surrender to the Macedonian king? And was he now — standing before his countrymen, impeached for advocating the course of honor — to vail his crest because disaster had fallen upon their arms? What says he? "Had the future been evident to all, had all foreseen it, had you, Æschines, foretold it and announced it with outcries and exclamations,— you, who never opened your lips, — not even then could the city have withdrawn from this course, if she felt any concern for glory, or for ancestors, or for the coming times. Now, indeed, she is regarded as having failed, which is the common lot of all mankind, whenever such is the will of God; but in the other case, claiming to stand at the head of Greece, and then deserting the post, she would have borne the reproach of having betrayed all to Philip. For had these honors been surrendered without a struggle, for which there was no peril our ancestors did not undergo, who would not have scorned — *you* — Æschines, not the city or me?" Again, in a similar strain of exalted morality, he says: "They were willing to expose themselves to perils for glory and honor, rightly and nobly deciding. For to all men death is the boundary of life, even if one should keep himself locked in a cell; but it is the duty of good men ever to aim at all honorable deeds, and, shielding themselves with hope, to bear nobly whatever God may send."

In meeting the accusation that he had not been faithful to the interests of his country, what is his reply? "Neither when demands were made for my surrender, nor when my enemies

harassed me with Amphictyonic prosecutions, nor when they set upon me these wretches, like wild beasts, have I ever abandoned my loyal attachment to you. From the very outset, I chose this upright and faithful line of public conduct, to devote myself to the honor, the glory, the power of my country, — these to enlarge, with these to have my being." And again: "Neither opportunities, nor flattering speeches, nor great promises, nor hope, nor fear, nor any other thing, ever tempted me or led me on to betray any one of what I judged to be the rights and interests of my country." And his country knew that he spoke the truth.

Perhaps what I have said will be thought sufficient to give an idea of the mind and character of the man. There stands in the Nuovo Braccio of the Vatican a marble statue, the noblest portrait-statue in existence. It is the statue of Demosthenes, in the act of addressing a court or assembly. The nervous temperament, the spare figure, the exquisite proportions of the head, the concentrated fire and energy in the brow and lips, the earnest bending forward, seeming as if the very marble would speak, — embody the character of the great original with such wonderful truth, that I believe the visitor who had only read and understood the Oration on the Crown would exclaim before he saw the name, "There stands Demosthenes." The nephew of the orator, — the son of that little sister who shared his orphanage, — a statesman too, possessing the patriotic virtues of his uncle, with a similar but unequal vein of eloquence, moved in the assembly to erect a bronze statue to the martyr patriot, and spoke his eulogy in tones that stirred the hearts of his countrymen. Cicero wrote frequently to his friend Atticus to procure statues and other works of art to decorate his Tusculan villa, to which he often retired from the noise and strife of Rome, to enjoy the society of his beloved books and friends. The Demosthenes of the Vatican was found at no great distance from Tusculum; and I have sometimes pleased myself with the fancy that this is a copy of the bronze statue in the Agora, sent to Cicero from Athens, and once adorning his tasteful villa.

Demosthenes was one of the greatest and most perfect characters of antiquity. In his private life he was a man of gentle feelings, but of the most austere virtue. In eating he was temperate; and in drinking he took nothing but water, for which Æschines, who did not follow his example, jeered at him. On the formation of his style he bestowed unwearied pains. From his earliest youth to the last oration he ever spoke, he never ceased to give the profoundest study both to matter and to form. He seldom addressed the assembly in extemporaneous speech, affirming that it was not respectful to the people to speak to them in the crude language of the moment; and Pytheas, one of his detractors, used to say that his orations smelt of the lamp. If by this remark the critic meant to say that the style of the great orator was too labored, or overloaded with ornament, or artificial and formal, nothing can be more unfounded. Demosthenes studied, first, to make his thoughts clear, coherent, and logical; and next, to mould his language into the most absolutely transparent medium of thought. In his manner of speaking, such as it became after he had conquered the awkwardness of his early attempts, he was like one inspired. When Æschines read to his pupils in Rhodes the Oration on the Crown, and they were filled with admiration, he said, "What would you do if you heard the beast deliver it himself?"

He begins in a moderate tone, and with undeniable propositions; he warms with the subject; he reasons with compact and irresistible force; a burst of impassioned eloquence electrifies the assembly; the forms of the mighty dead seem starting from their tombs in the Cerameicus, to stand before him in answer to his vehement apostrophe; the august image of his beloved country, while his memory recalls her glorious history and his eye wanders over the memorials of her great achievements, becomes a living presence to his excited imagination. The language grows more simple, while the meaning deepens, and the passion kindles into a fiercer flame. What can resist this reasoning, this power, this honesty, this enthusiasm, this

passion, this profound sagacity? Not the heart of man in Athens, not the heart of man in Boston, not the heart of man wherever genius is admired, patriotism cherished, virtue esteemed, or martyrdom held in honor.

Looking back on the history of Athens, three majestic figures stand before us; — Solon, the founder of her Constitution; Pericles, who stands on the pinnacle of her renown; Demosthenes, the last and greatest, who, like the sinking sun, sheds his glory upon her fall; — the beginning, the middle, and the end of the greatest historical tragedy ever enacted on the theatre of the world.

FOURTH COURSE.

MODERN GREECE.

It will be seen that a large part of this Course relates to events that fall within the conventional scope of *ancient* history. Yet we have preferred to retain the author's designation of *Modern* Greece; for to the Philhellene the Macedonian conquest, as obliterating "Greece of the Greeks," marks the only sharply dividing line in Grecian history, until the release of a portion of Hellas from foreign rule by the revolution of the present century. — Editor.

LECTURE I.

INTRODUCTION. — THE GREEK REVOLUTION. — CHARACTER OF THE MODERN GREEKS. — CHARACTER OF THE TURKS.

A CORRESPONDENCE has recently taken place between the Minister of Foreign Affairs at Athens, on the one side, and Mr. Marcy, the Secretary of State, and the Reverend Jonas King, acting Consul of the United States, on the other. The subject of this correspondence is the transmission of a block of marble from the ruins of the Parthenon for the Washington Monument. The tone in which the Greek Minister expresses his own sentiments, and those of his government and country, towards the United States and the memory of our illustrious founder, is such as must stir the heart of this great nation, and re-establish the mutual respect and good-will which, for a moment interrupted by diplomatic difficulties, are too natural and too congenial with the character of both nations not to be carefully cherished. "Greece," says the eloquent Pericles Argyropoulos, in a strain not unworthy the name he bears, "Greece has never forgotten the noble sympathy manifested towards her by the American nation at the time of her Revolution. Full of gratitude and of friendship, she has always watched with the deepest interest the wonderful progress which has been in every respect achieved by a people to which she feels attached by the most indissoluble ties. It is under the influence of these sentiments that his Majesty's government, faithful interpreter of the national wish, being desirous to testify in a solemn manner its veneration for the memory of the illustrious Washington, has caused to be transmitted to Mr. King, acting Consul of the United States at Athens, a block of mar-

ble taken from the very ruins of the Parthenon, in order that it may serve to adorn, however humbly, the monument destined to perpetuate the remembrance of the great founder of American independence."

In his reply, Mr. Marcy writes: "The announcement of this noble present, accompanied as it is by tones of friendship so emphatic and acceptable, cannot fail to be highly appreciated by the President and people of the United States."

The King, in sanctioning the proposal of the Minister of the Interior and of Education, says: "As a proof of the gratitude of the nation towards the United States, we order that this stone, with the advice of the Superintendent of Antiquities, be taken from the ancient ruins of the Parthenon, and that on it be engraved a suitable inscription, which the Faculty of the University shall propose."

How singular the combination of ideas which this correspondence suggests! The Parthenon stands the crowning work of the architecture of all ages, decorated by the most perfect sculptures of Pheidias and his school, — the glory of the administration of Pericles, — the wonder of all Greece and of the ancient world, — having resisted the silent wear of three-and-twenty centuries, the active agencies of war and barbarism, and, worse than all the rest, of foreign amateurship, — at this day rising into the translucent air of Attica, venerable with the tints of antiquity, or shining with a golden light as the setting sun pours his level beams through the transfigured columns; the most harmonious, the most affecting monument of ancient civilization, — the most impressive in the pathos of its decaying beauty, and in the silent majesty of its dominion over the incomparable scenery which Nature in an ecstatic hour of her loveliness grouped around the Acropolis. These marble blocks were quarried from yonder mountain, whose unexhausted mines have furnished the materials for King Otho's palace. Along the original track, not yet obliterated, still lie fragments left there by the ancient workmen, some rough, and others hewn into form, apparently destined

for the temples on the Acropolis. The great statesman of the most glorious age of the Athenian Republic no doubt personally superintended the structure which his genius called into being. That Pericles took constant cognizance of the details of the industrial operations performed under his auspices is shown by the anecdote told by Plutarch, that, one of the builders having met with an accident by falling from a staging, Pericles was so concerned by what had happened, that it occupied his thoughts by night, and that the goddess Athene, appearing to him, suggested a cure, which on trial proved successful. Grateful for the restoration of the workman, Pericles caused a statue to be consecrated on the Acropolis to Athene as the goddess of the healing art. The basis of that same statue the traveller has the pleasure of seeing, on the spot designated by Plutarch, and he may read the inscription, still legible, though but recently disencumbered from the mass of rubbish which had hidden it for many centuries. It is not at all improbable that the keen eye of Pericles scanned the very block of marble which another Pericles has now sent four thousand miles to another hemisphere, then unknown except in the dream of the lost Atlantis, to decorate a monument to one more illustrious even than he who gave his name to his age.

There are many things which naturally tend to international sympathy between us and the Greeks. In the first place, the tie of a common civilization, which binds the educated minds of all countries to the mighty memories of ancient Greece as the parent of letters, science, and arts, includes the intellect of America in the general union. In the next place, the principles of civil liberty, constitutional government, and popular legislation were first developed by the genius — as remarkable for political wisdom as for adaptation to the fine arts — of that people. For, when we consider the legislation of Solon, the germs it contains, and the influence it had on government, first at Rome, and then, through Rome's organizing capacity, upon the principal nations of modern Europe, it must be admitted that, however much we have improved upon the ancient Greeks in

the practical adaptation of principles, we have added scarcely one to the principles of government they discovered. Perhaps some persons will think the better of the ancient Greeks when they hear that our political maxim, "To the victors belong the spoils," is only a literal translation of a sentence in Xenophon. The Attic Constitution was built up on the foundation of popular sovereignty. In the course of time the original limitations were nearly all removed, and the Constitution became the embodiment of democratic rule, exercised through the established laws: for it was a noble thought, nobly uttered by one of the wisest of the ancient sages, that the magistrate is the servant of the law, and not of the people; and an early orator, in drawing the line between democracies on the one side, and oligarchies and monarchies on the other, says that the latter are governed according to the wills and characters of those who are placed at the head, while the former are ruled by established laws. The Attic Constitution recognized the principle of popular elections, and the responsibility of magistrates to the people. It guaranteed the right of trial by jury, and the freedom of the citizen from arrest except by due process of law. Again, the legislation by two bodies, one wholly popular and the other select, — the concurrent action of the two being necessary to the validity of a legislative measure, — so early established in Athens, marks a refinement of political wisdom not yet reached by some nations which consider themselves as standing at the head of modern civilization. The late French Republic, for instance, committed the error of adopting a single legislative chamber; and this, as much perhaps as any other single circumstance, led to the half-ludicrous, half-tragic catastrophe which terminated its brief career, and placed it in the power of the able but unscrupulous President to reconstruct on its ruins, and on the bodies of citizens slaughtered in the streets of Paris, the imperial throne. Again, our principle of autonomy, or local self-government, was the cardinal principle of the commonwealths of ancient Greece, though the glory of perfecting its development belongs to modern political science and to the founders of the American Republic.

The absorption of Greece into the Roman Empire has no parallel in the circumstances of a nation which has separated itself from the Roman Empire of the modern world. Nor have we anything in our history parallel to the Byzantine epoch, still less to the disastrous period of subjection to the Turks. The war of the Greek Revolution was of similar duration to our own; but how unlike the conditions! how unequal the sufferings! We were three thousand miles away from our antagonist; and received his armies into our extensive country, inhabited by a people trained in the discipline of liberty, and struggling for the inalienable rights of British subjects. They rose up from four centuries of slavery under the imbruting despotism of a barbarous conqueror, of a religion totally at war with the fundamental principles of European civilization, of a race which, having possessed the fairest regions of the Eastern world, has reduced them to deserts, and added nothing to science and letters, nothing to culture or humanity; they fought through a war of unexampled cruelty on the part of the invader; they endured unheard-of extremities of fortune in captivity and under torture, or, in their own land, shelterless, without food, dwelling in caverns among the rocks, eating acorns, roots, leaves, grass, — bearing all these horrors without complaint, and fairly exhausting the ferocious courage of their assailants by the passive fortitude with which they breasted it. We had the support of a powerful constitutional party in England, represented by the most eloquent leaders in the Lords and Commons, and the alliance and active aid of one of the most civilized and powerful among the nations. They were frowned upon by the cabinets of Europe, though the people sympathized with them. Political interests were all against them, though many noble men hurried to their assistance, and cheered them on by fighting at their side and contributing supplies to meet their pressing wants. The battle of Navarino was lamented by the English government, and the Turk was affectionately alluded to as "our ancient ally." The early attempts to readjust the affairs of the East by the Great Powers did not

contemplate the separation of any part of Greece from Turkey, but only an arrangement of pacification and qualified independence, acknowledging the Sultan as lord paramount, and fixing a large annual tribute to be paid into his treasury. When at length this system could not be made to work, and it was found necessary to establish an independent kingdom, the boundary lines were so drawn as to exclude some of the most fertile parts of Greece, and to include considerably less than a million of inhabitants; the object being to weaken Turkey as little as possible, and to prevent a new and powerful state from growing up in that part of Europe, which might tend to disturb the European balance. Thessaly, Epeirus, and Macedonia were left still under the Turkish yoke; and Crete, the most valuable of the islands in the Levant, after having borne her full share of the sufferings of the war, was surrendered to the tender mercies of the Pacha of Egypt, under certain guaranties, which, with Oriental perfidy, were remorselessly and bloodily violated almost before the ink was dry on the parchment which confirmed the power of the ruthless tyrant under whom the ancient land of the Pharaohs so long groaned.

It was not unnatural that, under these circumstances, the great heart of the American people should have throbbed with sympathy for the Hellenic race. That noble Philhellene, Dr. Howe, whose life has been consecrated to the service of the suffering and forlorn, spoke and acted the universal sentiment of the nation. The most eloquent voice ever heard in our land — that voice now hushed in death — gave expression to the strong feeling of the country in a speech which can never cease to charm by its generous spirit and admirable style; in these respects scarcely falling short of the masterly models handed down from the brilliant days of the Athenian Republic. The most classical pen of our age was devoted to the same stirring interest through the pages of the North American Review, in which all the resources of comprehensive and elegant scholarship, clothed in the rarest beauties of written eloquence, were addressed to the Christian philanthropy and the literary sympa-

thies of our citizens. Contributions of money, provisions, and clothing were hastened to those classic shores from our cities and towns, and saved thousands from the horrors of destitution and starvation. The ruins of the humble building on the Isthmus of Corinth, where Dr. Howe distributed these charities to the haggard multitudes that came down in their raggedness and misery from their mountain dens, were scarcely less interesting to me, in the solitude of the Isthmian forest, than the classic ruins which give a mournful beauty to the hills and plains of Hellas. Let me add, that, in the earliest attempts to form a provisional government for revolutionary Greece, the Constitution of the United States, translated into Greek, served as a copy and guide to the lawgivers. The battle of Navarino, which settled the fortunes of the contest in favor of Hellas at the moment when her cause seemed hopeless, and which was pronounced by the Duke of Wellington "an untoward event," shot an electric thrill through this country; and I well remember meeting a distinguished lawyer in a neighboring State, a man not usually carried away by enthusiastic feeling, just after he had read an account of the battle, and the first words he uttered were, "Hallelujah! hallelujah! for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth." So different was the American sentiment from that of the Iron Duke, and of his master, that pattern of all princely virtues, — George the Fourth. On the other hand, the reciprocal feelings of the Greeks were strongly manifested. in 1825, by the proposal formally made to the United States to send a fleet into the Mediterranean, with one of our leading statesmen, who should assume the office of legislator or dictator on the summons of the Greek nation. And this proposal was made to us because — to use the words of the letter that contained it — they suspected the motives of the English, and shuddered at the despotic aims of the Holy Alliance, whose members had hoped that the insurrection would be suppressed by Ibrahim Pacha and his Egyptian hordes.

Now, was the cause of this self-emancipating nation worthy of hearty sympathy? Did the Greeks then, and do they now,

deserve the support of the civilized nations? Many accusations have been brought against this people, from ancient times to the present moment. They have been pronounced false, fickle, treacherous, cowardly, not to be relied upon either in word or deed; and the charges have been recently summed up by designating them as a nation of liars and bigots. The character of every nation that has ever existed upon the face of the earth is a mixed one. A single color, or several dark colors, will seldom produce a faithful likeness. I think there has always been an Oriental trait of intrigue in the Greek character; and yet what illustrious exceptions history records in Socrates, Plato, Aristeides, Demosthenes, and, in our days, in Marco and Constantine Botzares, and in Mavrocordatos! The ingenious fibs which Ulysses, in the Odyssey, has ever at command, are supposed to be characteristic of the Greeks in all ages; and the smiling approbation with which the very goddess of wisdom listens to his glibly spoken inventions is imagined to go even deeper into the essential nature of the Greek. Those who make so much out of this trait of the hero of Homer's immortal tale forget to remind us that the same poet has put into the mouth of Achilles, the favorite hero of the nation, the very energetic words: —

> "Who dares think one thing and another tell,
> My soul abhors him as the gates of hell."

Juvenal, the Roman satirist, in a passage often quoted says: —

> "Creditur olim
> Velificatus Athos, et quicquid Græcia *mendax*
> Audet in historia," —

"It is believed that Athos was once sailed through, and whatever *lying* Greece dares in history." The epithet has often been repeated by those who were not aware that the statement cited by the poet is true; that traces of the canal cut by Xerxes across the peninsula still exist, and prove not only that Juvenal was mistaken, but that Xerxes was quite justified, on prudential grounds, for undertaking this work — no very difficult one — for the safety and convenience of his fleet. Indeed, one of

the greatest improvements to the navigation of that region — and it would not be a very costly operation — would be to clear this very canal from the earth and rubbish which in the course of ages have choked it up. But the Turks entertain constitutional objections against internal improvements.

The later Romans were fond of satirizing the Greeks as "Græculi esurientes," and the like; but the best minds of Rome — Cicero, Atticus, Virgil, and Horace — cherished warm friendship for the Greek masters to whom they were indebted for their intellectual culture. For many centuries Athens was the university in which the noblest of the Roman youth completed their education. If we judge of a people by the spirit of their philosophy, I think the Greeks of old need fear a comparison with no other nation whatsoever. No doubt the character of the people degenerated under the domination of Roman Proconsuls; and they learned the arts of dissimulation and the trick of fawning practised by subjects towards a domineering race. The vices of Byzantium, after the Eastern and Western Empires were separated, reached and corrupted the heart of the nation. And when the Turks, having captured Constantinople, and overrun the provinces with their barbarous hordes, subjected them to their brutal sway, the Greeks were infected with the plague of slavery, and lost, no doubt, much of the integrity of their character. But the constancy with which they clung to the Christian Church during those four centuries of misery and political annihilation; their immovable faithfulness to their nationality under intolerable oppression; the intellectual superiority they never failed to exhibit over their tyrants; the love of humane letters, which they never, in all their sorrows, lost; and the wise preparation they made for the struggle by means of schools, and by the circulation of editions of their own ancient authors and translations of the most instructive works in modern literature, — show that the national character was sound at the core.

I have already spoken of the qualities they displayed during the conflict. I do not know, in the history of the human race,

a more illustrious chapter. The old renown of Marathon, and Salamis, and Thermopylæ is founded on no more glorious deeds than were achieved in repelling the armies of the Turks. As I wandered among the wild and noble scenery where still stands the mound of Leonidas and his immortal three hundred, on which the Spartan inscription long since disappeared from the vision to live eternally in the memory of mankind, the heroic form of another — a modern Leonidas — rose before me, side by side with the Spartan and his little band, as no less worthy of deathless fame than the three hundred. Among the first who fell for their country's independence was the gallant chief Diakos, who, with a few followers, stood against the infidel hosts of Omer Vriones, at the entrance of that same narrow pass. All were slain or taken prisoners. Diakos was among the latter. He was brought into the presence of the Turkish Bey, and questioned closely with regard to the insurrection. He replied, "All Greece is resolved to be free or to perish in the attempt." His life was offered him on condition of entering the Turkish service. Of course he refused. "I will put you to death," said the Pacha, "unless you join me." "Greece," answered the hero, "will lose but one; she has many a Diakos besides me." With characteristic cruelty the Turks resolved to impale him alive; and, with a refinement of torture which reminds us of the most awful tragedy ever enacted on this earth, they made him bear the instrument of his own death. As he walked thus shamefully burdened to the place of execution, he cast a look about him upon the face of nature, all smiling with the beauty of spring, — strange contrast to the bloody work of human hands, — and repeated, from one of the old ballads of the country, —

"Behold the time that Charon chose to take me from the living!
The boughs are blooming now with flowers, the earth puts forth its herbage," —

and then for three hours he bore with unshaken soul the agonizing death they inflicted on him.

The course of the Hellenic kingdom has, indeed, disappointed the expectations of many of the best friends of Greece; and it

is no uncommon thing to hear the same language of contempt and condemnation applied to it which was used by Byron and others who visited it while it was still a Turkish province. "They are all scoundrels," said a French agent at Galixidhi to me; "the best kind of government for them was the Turkish; they are fit only to be slaves, to receive the bastinado every day, and to have their heads chopped off if they resist." What had excited the anger of the fiery Gaul I did not learn; but I could not help smiling at this summary putting down of a whole people, from the experience he had had in his acquaintance with a few Hellenic vagabonds at an insignificant steamboat station.

From the accounts of many travellers one might infer that the entire Greek people are a body of robbers, pirates, and swindlers. It was the frank admission of an English trader in the Levant, that he liked the Turks better than the Greeks, because he could cheat them more easily; and I dare say that this is the kind of philosophy which dictates not a little of the harsh judgment passed upon this people. It does not, however, follow that, because some Greeks are rogues, therefore all Greeks are rogues; because some Greeks are pirates, therefore all Greeks are pirates; because some Greeks are *klephts*, or robbers, therefore all Greeks are robbers. We must remember that many of the most eminent commercial houses in England, France, Italy, and Germany, and nearly all the most eminent on the East of the Mediterranean, are Greeks, whose transactions embrace the world, and whose liberality has showered down benefits on the country of their birth, in the establishment of schools, the endowment of colleges, the printing and circulating of books, and in every way of doing good that an enlightened zeal can suggest.

The Greek peasant, according to my experience, is simple-hearted, almost childlike, and hospitable after the manner of the heroic ages. He is intelligent, docile, grateful for kindness, unselfish, except where he has been exposed to the corrupting influence of foreign travellers, to whom mainly it

is due that he is sometimes cunning, mercenary, and, as far as he can be, extortionate. But in this disagreeable aspect of his character, he only practises on a small scale what hirelings in other parts of Europe practise on a large scale. The stranger, for example, who visits Oxford, undergoes a severer process of extortion in a single hour from the obsequious underlings of that wealthy University, who are allowed to pick the visitor's pocket at the rate of about a shilling a minute, than he would be subjected to in traversing Greece from one extremity to the other. The Oriental *bakshish*, which is the burden of the complaints against the inhabitants of the East in England, is translated into "Please remember the waiter," with this difference, that the remembrance of one English waiter costs the traveller as much as would satisfy an Arab sheik, the lineal representative of Father Abraham, and all his bearded retinue. In a journey of twenty-one days through the interior, two attempts only were made to cheat us, — one by a priest at Bodenitza, near Thermopylæ, the other by the Demarch, or mayor, of Sophiko, near the Isthmus of Corinth; and in three months at Athens, only one abnormal assault was made upon my pocket. A barber, taking me for a new-comer, attempted to make me pay four times the regular price for cutting my hair. I assured him he had made a mistake; that I knew the prices of things as well as he did; and after giving him a moral lecture, in good Greek, upon his dishonesty, cut him down to half his demand, paying him twice the regular price, which he received with many thanks and a low bow. I cannot, therefore, assent to these sweeping sentences of condemnation upon the whole Greek people. They do not accord with my experience among them. If others have fared differently, they will naturally draw different conclusions.

The educated classes seem to me to be not only well bred, but generally of high and honorable views. Many of the gentlemen of Greece have studied in France and Germany, and speak the languages of those countries with fluency and elegance. In society they are courteous and obliging, and their conversation is intelligent and agreeable.

The condition of the country is not, indeed, what it ought to be, and what it might have been. I must accuse the people of some want of practical good sense, and the government of not having well understood the line of policy, internal and foreign, which would have been most beneficial. The mass of the population are living in a state of poverty quite beyond any conception of poverty we can form in this country. The most ordinary arrangements, not only for comfort, but for health and decency, are generally wanting, except in a few of the larger towns. You see no tables, chairs, beds, or glass windows in the Northern provinces, though in the Peloponnesus the state of things in these respects is somewhat better. The arts of undressing and going to bed, of washing one's hands and face, of occasionally changing one's linen, of conducting smoke through chimneys, of eating with knives and forks, are quite unknown. The traveller who takes a cold bath in the morning is regarded as of unsound mind; rumors of what he is doing spread rapidly through the village; and ten to one, a dozen pairs of eyes will be watching, through chinks in the walls of his room, with undisguised wonder, every movement of the sponge. I asked my cook one day how large a fee would induce him to take a cold bath. He shuddered, and said he would do it for a dollar. But notwithstanding this apparent wretchedness, there are scarcely any beggars in the country. Every man has his flock, or his olive-grove, or his little farm, or hires land of the government, and labors enough to supply his simple wants. In the meanest huts, where you can find nothing else, you will probably find school-books; and you are nowhere annoyed by mendicants, dogging your footsteps, and destroying the pleasure of contemplating the lovely landscape or the wondrously beautiful fragments of ancient magnificence.

In crossing a spur of Mount Helicon, I was overtaken by one of those tremendous rains which seem in a moment to bring back Deucalion's Deluge. I was obliged to take shelter in a hut picturesquely placed on the slope of the mountain,

and to pass the night there. The luggage — bag, baggage, and provisions — had been sent by a shorter road to Lebadeia, a dozen miles off; and the supplies and accommodations that were to be had became a subject of some interest, even in that classic and glorious region. The house consisted of one room, the lower end of which was occupied by the domestic animals, to which our horses were now added. The floor was of hardened earth mixed with straw. Towards the upper end there was a raised circle, on which the fire was burning; but as there was no chimney, the smoke floated about in graceful curls among the timbers of the roof, the cracks in which served the purpose of not letting out the smoke and of letting in the rain. The family were the father, mother, four children, and a maiden aunt, who, like maiden aunts all over the world, was making herself useful in a variety of ways; — rocking the baby, which, according to the fashion in Greece, was swathed like an infant mummy; spinning too, not with a wheel, but in Homeric style, sitting upon her heels, and whirling a spindle on the ground. They had no beds, and therefore required no bedrooms; they had no chairs, and therefore sat on the floor; they had no knives and forks, and therefore ate with their fingers. In searching for supplies, a disconsolate old hen was found on the premises; and when the good mother returned from washing clothes, like Nausicaa, in a neighboring stream, she tipped the baby out of the cradle, — leaving him to roll helplessly on the floor, — poured into it a quantity of Indian meal, and kneaded a mighty loaf, which she baked under the ashes. Perhaps some of my over-fastidious hearers think they would have hesitated to partake of a loaf whose antecedents were such as I have described. But, I can assure them, that loaf of bread, and that old hen boiled in an earthen pot by the light of a blazing pine torch, made a supper fit for a hungry Homeric hero, or a hungrier American Professor, in the very presence of Apollo and the Muses Nine. At the proper time, the family went to bed, figuratively speaking; that is, they plumped down on a piece of coarse matting just as they were, extending their feet, like radii

of a circle or spokes of a wheel, towards the fire; while we plumped down on the other side, with our saddles for pillows, and with our feet extending, like opposite spokes, towards the hub of the same wheel. Poets talk about reposing on the bosom of Mother Earth. That is all very well, but I thought a good mattress would have been better. At all events, after a night so passed on the slope of Helicon, early rising ceases to be the self-denying virtue that practical moralists sometimes consider it.

There is one aspect of the condition of Greece which may be contemplated with unalloyed delight; and that is the excellent system of popular education now established in the country. The schools are well graded, from the lowest children's schools, up through the Hellenic schools, the gymnasia, and the University, and they are all supported by the government; so that a young man who has the bare means of subsistence may acquire the best education the country affords — and that is as good as can be had anywhere else in Europe — without its costing him a farthing. The quality of the instruction, both in the schools and in the University of Athens, is very excellent. On this subject I may venture to speak with some confidence, having passed no small portion of the time I was in the country in the schools, and in the lecture-rooms of the University. The zeal for instruction among all classes of the people is indescribable, — greater than I have witnessed anywhere else in the world. They enjoy, besides, a complete liberty of the press and of speech; they have open parliamentary debates, the trial by jury, and the public administration of justice. The bar of Athens consists of a body of well-educated lawyers, who would do no discredit to the profession anywhere. I have witnessed the legal proceedings in the courts with the deepest interest, and, notwithstanding some exceptions that have occurred, — as the unjust condemnation of Dr. King, — I am persuaded, both by what I have seen and by what I have heard from others whose opportunities have been much greater than mine, that justice is for the most part administered with ability and integrity.

Now I must maintain that a people which has reorganized the institutions of civilization within so short a period after the close of a war unexampled in its destructiveness, has given proofs, notwithstanding the grave errors which may be charged upon it, that it does not deserve to be shut out from the pale of Christendom; and such proofs the Turks, whose history for four hundred years is interwoven with that of Greece, have not given. The Turkish character and genius are quite the opposite of the Greek. Something is due to difference of race; still more, perhaps, to difference of religion; and much to the relation of conquerors to the conquered. The northern Barbarians who poured into the Roman Empire blended with the older populations, and became Christian; and from their united masses sprang the Christian nations of Modern Europe. Not so the Turkish conquerors of the Eastern Empire. The fundamental principles of the Mahometan religion are totally and irreconcilably at war with the Christian civilization of Europe; and the maintenance of what is called the integrity of the Turkish Empire, as a part and parcel of the system of Christian Europe, is a paradox and an impossibility. Just so far as the Turk approximates to the condition of the Christian, he ceases to be a Turk. If the great powers are going to make a permanent European state out of Turkey, they must unmake the Turk. The more you civilize the Christian, the better Christian he becomes; the more you civilize the Turk, the worse Turk he grows. Whatever change you make in him, outwardly or inwardly, to that extent you change his quality as Turk. The Sultan's guards wear the European uniform. The consequence is, that, when His Highness goes to the mosque, they receive him with presented arms instead of prostrated bodies, because the military pantaloons are not, like the Turkish trousers, sufficiently spacious to allow, without danger of rending, the old-fashioned Oriental reverence to the sacred person of the monarch. Who knows how closely the integrity of the Turkish government may be bound up with the integrity of the trousers? But changes of

this description or of any description have not penetrated the masses of the people. The genuine Turk is still what he was a hundred years ago,—a despiser of all other religions, a fanatic for his own, and an enemy to the death of the civilization of the age. For many years Turkey has been tottering to its fall. The Emperor of Russia well described its condition as that of a sick man, whose decease might be expected at any moment; and no longer ago than the year before last, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, in a speech at Constantinople, declared that Turkey was nothing but a corpse, which it was in vain to attempt to galvanize into life. The qualities that made the Turks formidable, when they first broke the barriers of Europe, no longer find a sphere in which they can exercise themselves with effect; and they do not show the intellectual vigor and moral courage which would be necessary to cast off their old organizations, their religion, and their forms of domestic life, and to become Christianized and civilized. I trust that the Allies, in the present contest, will beat the Czar to their hearts' content. This they probably can do; but as to maintaining the integrity of the Turkish Empire, that is a thing beyond human power. They may take it into their own hands, and remould its public institutions and private relations; in other words, civilize and Christianize it. It will not be enough to close the accounts by making a treaty to place the Christian subjects of the Porte on an equality with the Mahometans. Even such a treaty they would have to execute by their own forces; for the Turks never will do this, so long as they acknowledge the binding obligation of the law of the Koran. But equality of condition with the Turks is not enough; Turks and Christians both must be elevated. In other words, the Eastern question must be settled by establishing a good government at Constantinople, and redeeming the fairest countries in the world from the curse and the thraldom under which they have been and are still groaning. By what arrangement this can be brought about — whether by enlarging the boundaries of the Hellenic kingdom, so as to include the European provinces of Turkey,

with Constantinople for the capital, as the Greeks hope, or by thoroughly changing the maxims and the practice of the Turkish administration — is a question which France and England will have to settle when they have finished with the Czar and compelled him to sue for peace. The Greeks hope that the cross is destined to supplant the crescent on the towers of St. Sophia. A ballad coeval with the fall of Constantinople predicts the restoration of that temple to the Panagia; and a tradition still current relates that, when Mahomet II. and his barbarian hordes broke down its doors, the priest, who was performing the mass, took up the consecrated vases, and, walking down one of the aisles with solemn steps, vanished in the solid wall. The sound of the psalm is still vaguely heard within the impenetrable masonry, where the immured priest murmurs his interrupted liturgy; and when St. Sophia shall be restored to the Christian, the wall shall open of its own accord, and the priest, issuing from his retreat, shall finish at the altar the mass he began to celebrate four centuries ago. At all events, if I may quote the words of a letter received from a very distinguished Greek, who has played a leading part in the Revolution, and since then both in the administration and the diplomacy of the Greek government, "Let us hope that in time the now erroneous political opinion of Europe will be persuaded that Turkey can be civilized and will be civilized by Christians, and not by Turks; and being so persuaded, that it will stretch out a helping hand to throw off the yoke that now oppresses the country."

The following narrative may illustrate the religious fanaticism of the Turks. In August, 1843, a young Armenian, about eighteen or twenty years old, was executed at Constantinople under circumstances of peculiar atrocity. Eighteen months previously, Avakim (that was the young man's name), having had a drunken brawl with some of his neighbors, was sentenced at the War Office to receive five hundred blows of the bastinado. In the first moment of alarm, he resorted to the only expedient for escape from this severe and degrading penalty,

and, professing to become a Mussulman, received the name of Mehemet. It was but a few days before he repented of his abjuration of Christianity, and fled to Syra, an island lying within the boundaries of Greece. Having remained here some time after he had renounced Islamism, he returned to Constantinople, where he persevered in his profession of Christianity. One day he was accidentally recognized, as he was coming from his sister's house, by a Turkish official, and was denounced at the War Office as a renegade from Islamism. He was seized, subjected to cruel tortures, and conducted through the streets with his hands tied behind him, as if for execution; but all in vain. In spite of threats, tortures, promises, he remained immovable, and proclaimed aloud his belief in Christianity. He was accordingly taken to execution, amidst the insults and revilings of the infuriated fanatics, who spat upon him as he passed, and yelled their execrations of the religion for which he was to die. Of the thirty armed police who had charge of the execution of the sentence, only one, Tavuk-Bazarli-Ali, could be induced to strike the blow. He was beheaded in one of the most frequented parts of the city, and the body, after three days' exposure, was cast into the sea. The first knowledge of this tragical event was communicated in Pera by the appearance of his gray-haired mother rushing distractedly from the bloody scene. She afterwards returned, and sat sorrowfully by the lifeless body until she was removed.

Such a transaction, in this enlightened age, aroused the attention of the Christian nations then holding peaceful relations with Turkey. Sir Stratford Canning at once addressed a very energetic remonstrance to the Grand Vizier, who replied: "The Laws of the Koran compel no man to become a Mussulman, but they are inexorable both as respects a Mussulman who embraces another religion, and as respects a person not a Mussulman, who, after having of his own accord publicly embraced Islamism, is convicted of having renounced that faith. No consideration can produce a commutation of the capital

punishment, to which the law condemns him without mercy. The only mode of escaping death is for the accused to declare that he has again become a Mussulman." M. Guizot took the matter up in the same spirit. He remarked to Lord Cowley, that, "as the great powers of Europe were using their best endeavors to induce the Sultan's Christian subjects to live peaceably under the Ottoman rule, they could not allow such arbitrary acts of cruelty as that which had been perpetrated, and which was sufficient to rouse the whole of the Christian population against the government." The Baron de Bourguenay, the French Ambassador at Constantinople, was instructed to convey to the Porte the sentiments of the Cabinet at Paris on the subject. "Even had not humanity," says the Minister, "whose name has never been vainly invoked in France, been so cruelly wounded by the punishment of this Armenian, — even could the King's government, which has always protected, and ever will protect, the Christian religion in the East, forget that it is Christianity which has been thus cruelly outraged, — the interest which it takes in the Ottoman Empire and in its independence would still cause it to behold what has occurred with profound regret. . . . . The King's government considers that it discharges an imperious duty in communicating to the Porte the impression which has been made upon it by an event unfortunately irreparable, and which, were it to occur again, would be likely to cause real danger to a government weak enough to yield such concessions to a hateful and lamentable fanaticism."

Notwithstanding this energetic language, not many weeks had passed before a young Greek, near Broussa, having for some reason become a Mussulman, returned to his own creed, and was put to death by hanging. M. Guizot wrote to the French Minister: "Such a transaction is no longer only an outrage to humanity; it is an insult cast upon civilized Europe, by the fanaticism of a party which the Ottoman government has not the courage to keep within bounds and repress, even supposing that it is not itself to a certain degree an accomplice

in the measure. This courage must be given to it by causing it to apprehend that it will incur the serious displeasure of the powers whose benevolent support is so necessary to it." The Earl of Aberdeen wrote to Sir Stratford Canning: "The repetition of a scene of this revolting kind, so soon after that which had in the course of the last summer excited the horror and indignation of Europe, evinces such total disregard, on the part of the Porte, for the feelings and remonstrances of the Christian powers, that it is incumbent upon her Majesty's government without loss of time to convey their sentiments on the matter still more explicitly to the knowledge of the Porte. . . . . Whatever may have been tolerated in former times by the weakness or indifference of Christian powers, these powers will now require from the Porte due consideration for their feelings as members of a religious community, and interested as such in the fate of all who, notwithstanding shades of difference, unite in a common belief in the essential doctrines of Christianity; and they will not endure that the Porte should insult and trample on their faith, by treating as a criminal any person who embraces it. . . . . Her Majesty's government are so anxious for the continuance of a good understanding with Turkey, and that the Porte should entitle itself to their good offices in the hour of need, that they wish to leave no expedient untried, before they shall be compelled to admit the conviction that all their interest and friendship is misplaced, and that nothing remains for them but to look forward to, if not promote, the arrival of the day when the force of circumstances shall bring about a change which they will have vainly hoped to procure from the prudence and humanity of the Porte itself."

The correspondence of the English Secretary of Foreign Affairs with the ministers at the other courts was filled with the strongest expressions of the disgust and abhorrence with which the Turkish system was regarded by the Queen's government; the other powers shared in the feeling, and their combined interference could not long be evaded. The Turkish

Minister argued that there was a strong distinction between custom and divine law, intimating that a practice derived from the former source might be abandoned to meet the wishes of Europe, or even of Great Britain alone, but that a law prescribed by God himself was not to be set aside by any human power. But the next letter of Lord Aberdeen closes thus: "The Porte may rest assured that Christian states will, with one accord, refuse to tolerate any longer a practice which, both in the principle on which it rests and the manner in which it is carried into execution, is designed to stigmatize the faith which they profess and cherish." Reschid Pacha, the ablest and best of the Turkish statesmen, then Minister to France, was instructed to communicate to M. Guizot in strong terms the concern of the Sultan at this interference of the allied sovereigns in the internal affairs of his empire; to say that a compliance with these demands might be attended with very serious consequences to himself and his government; and to express the fervent hope of his master that they would not be persisted in. But M. Guizot was as firm as Lord Aberdeen.

It would not be to the purpose of these Lectures to enter into all the details of this negotiation. It will be enough to state that, the subject having been laid by the Sultan before the Council of the Ulema, — Turkish doctors of the law, — the doctors resisted as long as they dared, but finally drew a distinction between the strict letter of the law and the discretion warranted by state necessity. At length the British Minister opened a direct communication with the Sultan, and succeeded in obtaining all his demands, together with the assurance of the sovereign that these concessions were entirely consonant with his personal wishes. Of this there was no doubt. The present Sultan is a most amiable man, by a freak of fortune sadly out of place as the head of such a people in their present political condition. His royal word has been faithfully kept. From that day to this no Christian, becoming a Mussulman and returning afterwards to Christianity, has been put to death. Only a few months ago, a man who had lived as a Turk so

long that none of his acquaintances remembered he had ever been a Christian, suddenly went back to his early faith. He was arrested as an apostate; but instead of losing his head, like the unfortunate Armenian, he was set at liberty in a few days, and now walks the streets of Constantinople without fear. I believe they still assert the right of putting to death any one who, having been originally a Turk, apostatizes to Christianity; but whether any such cases have lately occurred, I do not know.

I have cited this case to illustrate the fanatical character of the genuine Turk. The proceedings I have thus summarily stated occurred only ten years ago. The British Ambassador who obtained these concessions is still at Constantinople, now known by the title of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, — a man of noble character and high ability, and at present of boundless influence with the Turks. But it is only the pressing necessities of their present condition, the influence of a few individuals who have a tincture of European civilization, and the humane disposition of the sovereign, — and not at all the intellectual progress of the nation at large, or any increasing humanity of the true Mussulman, — that have kept in check the ferocious fanaticism inculcated by their religion and congenial to the temper of the race.

LECTURE II.

THE MACEDONIAN ASCENDENCY. — GREECE UNDER THE ROMANS.

The general subject of this course of Lectures is the Downfall and Resurrection of Greece. It is necessary to go back and to take a brief review of some points in her earlier history. The Greek race occupies a central point in the long line of the Indo-Germanic stock, which in space extended from the Ganges to the western shores of Europe, and extends now from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. From the earliest periods of the history of man this race has held the foreground in the scene of history, and been charged with the destinies of the human family. Whatever of letters and of science illuminated the East in the morning of culture came from the richly endowed intellects of leaders belonging to this race. The noblest language of the Oriental world, with its literature gigantic like the Himalayas, is one of the primitive achievements of the stock; and commencing from that, and following the affinities of speech along the march of migrations and the progress of centuries, we mark at every step the overpowering superiority of the Indo-Germanic type. This great race moved westward in successive waves, commencing at a period long before the beginnings of authentic history, in the ages whose transactions are veiled in the bewildering forms of tradition and myth. They poured down from the North, through the mountain-passes, into the valleys of Greece: and, later, were joined by new-comers, who, approaching the sea-shore by a more southerly line of march, learned to struggle with the waves; following an irresistible instinct, traversed the Ægean Sea from island to island; and,

reaching the Grecian mainland, there blended again with the less cultivated immigrants who had preceded them. At the earliest appearance of the Greeks in history, they have made great advances beyond the Oriental nations in all the fundamental institutions of society. They have thrown off the slavery of caste, which, down to the present moment, binds the greatest nations of the Eastern world in its adamantine chains; they have renounced polygamy, and established the family relation on the only basis for the existence of a lofty civilization; they have attained to some ideas of political liberty, their kings being restrained by laws from Zeus and by the deliberations of a council of elders. With all these organizations we find them cultivating poetry, and not insensible to the attractions of art. At a later period, yet earlier than the first authentic date in European history, they have already established colonies along the western coast of Asia Minor, and perfected the brilliant development of epic poetry, — the bright, consummate flower of Ionian genius. In rapid succession we have the change from the old Homeric monarchies to the princely houses of the so-called tyrants who supplanted them; and in letters, the varied and magnificent schools of the Æolian and Dorian lyric poetry.

After another brilliant period, the princely houses pass away, and the people, with more or less distinctness, assert their rights by the establishment of popular constitutions and equal laws. Here Athens takes the lead, while Sparta, with obstinate conservatism, vainly strives to fix the fleeting elements of political life by the ascetic rigors of her military code. Athens started upon her career of glory with the legislation of Solon, and has not ended it yet; the institutions of Sparta passed away, and she stands in history only as the shadow of a great name. The age of Pericles beholds the temples of the Acropolis rising from the conflagrations of the Persian war, and the matchless statues of Pheidias taking their places on that high altar of Hellenic religion. The Dionysiac Theatre resounds with the plays of Æschylus and Sophocles, the moral teachers of the popular

body, and the unsurpassed leaders in polished style expressing lofty thought. Contemporaneously, the most brilliant comic genius seizes on the passing foibles and follies of the day; on the intrigues of the unscrupulous demagogue, everywhere the camp-follower in the march of popular freedom; on the perverted and immoral ingenuity of the sophist; on the fantastic schemes of the socialist; on the masculine woman, ambitious of mingling in the din and turbulence of politics, — and holds them up to the laughter of the moment and the instruction of all time. This brilliant literature is the natural product of liberty acting on the susceptible spirits of a gifted race; and the intense love of intellectual and æsthetic entertainment is scarcely cooled by the fiercer passions stirred up by successful war or by the disappointment of defeat. Political eloquence, never wanting to that ancient republic, becomes nobler and grander as she draws near her day of adversity and her final hour. The ambition of the Macedonian monarchs is held in check by the immortal statesman, whose voice, first heard on the slope of the Pnyx, now resounds through the civilized world and forever. In his lifetime he was the private citizen of a small republic, struggling, by the arms of eloquence and patriotism alone, against the phalanxes of a king who wielded the resources of an empire by his autocratic and undisputed will. He falls in the struggle, and force is apparently victorious; but now the character and history of Philip the Macedonian stand out, as they are painted in the undying colors of Demosthenes, the son of the sword-maker, in Athens. The chief importance of that able monarch's reign lies in his having called forth the mighty eloquence of his Athenian antagonist. It is not the armies of Macedonia nor the victory of Chæroneia that give a real significance to the life of Philip: it is those Philippic and Olynthiac orations fulmined against him which have made the heart to throb in forty generations of men since born.

The conquests of Alexander, the greatest of warriors and the wisest among the founders of states, carried the peculiar spirit of Hellenic civilization over a great part of the Oriental world.

The Greeks had already sent colonies, not only to the Mediterranean shores of Asia Minor and the southern coasts of the Euxine, but to Italy, Sicily, Africa, and the South of France; and the influence of Hellenic genius and character has not vanished, even to this day, from most of those regions. The solitary but lovely plain of Pæstum, with its imposing temples still standing, with the encircling mountains, and the blue sea to bound the sight, seems, under the soft serenity of the Lucanian sky, to be a piece of Greece dropped down in Italy, and more peculiarly and serenely beautiful than any other spot in that classic peninsula. In the veins of the mediæval Troubadours flowed still the blood of the Hellenic colonists of Massilia; and when I heard the barber-poet Jasmin reciting his marvellous poems in that most musical and graphic dialect which his genius has reawakened to song, — when I watched the irresistible possession which seized his soul, and bade the tears of his hearers to flow, even in the *salons* of Paris, — I could understand the Homeric singer who gathered crowds about him and held them thralls to the enchantment of his strain. His working countenance, the emotions speaking in his voice, trembling in his arm and hand, quivering through his stalwart frame, the gushing tears filling his eyes and moistening his cheek, the *enthusiasmos*, or god within him, — no acting, but profound, intense, passionate reality, — made me feel that here was no Frenchman of this nineteenth century, but a long-descended Greek, from those singers of the Ægean Isles, whose inspiration was believed in the early faith of their gifted race to come directly from the divine Muse herself.

In the East, the conquests of Alexander impressed, through the institutions he established, a Grecian character on Asiatic society, which lasted through the Roman down even to the Mahometan times. Though the Macedonians were not acknowledged as genuine Greeks by the purists of Sparta and Athens, yet the royal family were deeply imbued with Greek culture, and cherished a passion for Greek letters and art. Philip would have been a consummate orator on the bema;

and the munificence of Alexander endowed the Lyceum where Aristotle taught with a magnificence which no government of modern times has approached. Wherever he marched he took measures to consolidate a new society, combining his Asiatic with his Grecian subjects, under the influence of Greek culture and Greek social principles. Had he lived to complete his great plans, the history of the world might have taken a different course; but, though he was prematurely cut off, he had given an impulse not easily or speedily arrested; and though his successors plunged into ruinous wars, some of them at least — Seleucus especially — prosecuted their conquests and established their sovereignties in the spirit of their master. Seleucus dotted Asia with colonies from Greece, and planted the germs of letters and civilization, which changed the aspect of society in a great part of that venerable continent. The Ptolemies in Africa replaced the rigid culture of the ancient Egyptians by the graces of literature and the truths of science transferred from Athens, Thebes, and Corinth; and Alexandria became a centre of light almost rivalling in brightness the mother-city of the arts. Thus the race of the Greeks underwent a vast extension, carrying everywhere the intellectual tendencies and the social and political ideas which had grown up and been developed on the soil of Hellas. This was the period of the largest diffusion of the Greeks. Their settlements stretched from the banks of the Indus to the shores of Spain, from the Danube to the deserts of Africa. They skirted the Persian Gulf, the Caspian and Euxine Seas. Bactriana, Parthia, Persia, Syria, Pergamus, were under their sway, and it seemed as if they might have controlled the destinies of the world.

But in this growth of the race the original Hellenic states lost much of their political importance. The ablest and most ambitious men were dazzled by the brilliant careers opened to them in the Macedonian kingdoms. The wealth of the East poured like a golden flood over the West, changing the relations of society, and giving new directions to the passions of men; and it was impossible to combine the Greeks of Europe

in any firm confederacy to resist the swelling tide of corruption. In the third century before Christ an invasion of Gauls passed like a storm over Greece, ravaging, plundering, and laying waste. In Italy, the new and vigorous power of Rome reduced the Greek states by its arms, already in training for the conquest of the world. In Asia, the Greeks were a ruling caste, and did not constitute the body of the people. In Greece, on the contrary, though slavery was universally established, the mass of the people were Greeks. Here literature was the expression of the popular heart, and dealt with urgent practical affairs. The poet sang to the people at festive assemblies and in religious ceremonies; the dramatist composed for the people, and for the people not to read, but to hear. The philosopher discoursed to groups of curious citizens. Political news was gathered from the fervid lips of the orators on the bema. A stranger arrives at Athens from Sicily; he is invited by Socrates and others, not to deliver a formal lecture, which he must write out with groaning spirit and aching fingers, but to close in with them in an animated discussion upon the art he professes to teach. Even the grave historian counts more upon the impression his work will make upon the listening throng at some panegyrical assembly, than upon that abstract and invisible patron, the reading public. These circumstances explain the simplicity and directness of Greek writing; the unexampled fidelity of Greek poetry to nature; the absence of affectation and of far-fetched and elaborate combinations of subtile phrases, which are apt to disfigure the pages of the author who seldom comes into contact with his fellow-man, or gladdens his soul by the fresh breath of nature, or meditates, reclining upon the grass or under the shadow of trees, with the voices of the living earth in his ears and the silent depths of heaven looking down upon him. But among the Greeks of Africa and Asia all this was changed. The literary and scientific institutions of Alexandria — the Museum, the Brucheium, the Serapeion, the Great Library — gathered around them critics, scholars, men of learning, scientific investigators. Lectures came in, but lyric

song went out. Editions of Homer, Æschylus, Sophocles, were laboriously annotated; but epic poetry and the drama ceased to thrill the hearts of sympathetic myriads. The Neo-Platonists puzzled the world with their subtilties; but old Plato no longer charmed the olive-grove and the murmuring Cephissus with that divine philosophy which, according to Milton, was "musical as is Apollo's lute." Yet this chapter in the intellectual history of the Greek race is of profound historical significance. "The action of the Græco-Bactrian empire," says Humboldt, "which continued to prevail for one hundred and sixteen years, may be regarded as amongst the most important social epochs in the process of the development of the history of mankind, as far as it indicates a closer connection of Southern Europe with the southwest of Asia, the Nile, and Libya. Independently of the almost immeasurable extension opened to the sphere of development by the advance of the Macedonians, their campaigns acquired a character of profound moral greatness by the incessant efforts of the conqueror to amalgamate all races, and to establish, under the noble influence of Hellenism, a unity throughout the world. The foundation of many new cities at points the selection of which indicates higher aims, the arrangement and classification of an independently responsible form of government for these cities, and the tender forbearance evinced by Alexander for national customs and national worship, all testify that the plan of one great and organic whole had been laid. . . . . If we remember that only fifty-two Olympiads intervened from the battle of the Granicus to the destructive irruption into Bactria of the Sacæ and Tochi, we shall be astonished at the permanence and the magical influence exercised by the introduction from the West of Hellenic cultivation. This cultivation, blended with the knowledge of the Arabians, the modern Persians, and Indians, extended its influence in so great a degree, even to the time of the Middle Ages, that it is often difficult to determine the elements which are due to Greek literature, and those which have originated, independently of all admixture, from the inventive spirit of the Asiatic races."

With the enormous wealth of the East an immense accession of geographical and physical knowledge was rendered available to the Grecian mind. "The objective world," continues Humboldt, "began to assume a preponderating force over that of mere subjective creation; and while the fruitful seeds yielded by the language and literature of the Greeks were scattered abroad by the conquests of Alexander, scientific observation and the systematic arrangement of the knowledge already acquired were elucidated by the doctrines and expositions of Aristotle. We here indicate a happy coincidence of favoring relations; for, at the very period when a vast amount of new materials was revealed to the human mind, their intellectual conception was at once facilitated and multiplied through the direction given by the Stageirite to the empirical investigation of facts in the domain of nature, to the profound consideration of speculative hypothesis, and to the development of a language of science based on strict definition. Thus Aristotle must still remain, for thousands of years to come, as Dante has gracefully termed him, 'the master of those who know.'"

During this period the most important political phenomena were the formation of the Achaian League for the common defence and federal government of the Peloponnesian states, and the appearance of the two or three really great men who distinguished themselves by their abilities and virtues in the closing days of the independence of Greece. The government of this confederacy involved a partial application of the representative principle, and it had a vigorous executive head. Its long resistance to the Macedonian monarchs, and finally to the might of Rome, shows with what energy the Achaian Constitution was animated; but it appeared on the stage too late to save the commonwealths of Greece from the political annihilation to which they had long been doomed.

In the sister peninsula a power had grown up from an obscure and not very reputable origin. Its founders — sons of the god of war, and nursed by a she-wolf whose gaunt semblance in bronze is one of the most striking memorials of the Capitol —

embody the idea, if not the fact, on which the Roman supremacy was built. Rome was born amidst the clang of arms; and every son of hers, from the beginning to the culminating height of her greatness, was an incarnated Mars, consecrating his warlike deeds and his heart's blood, if need were, to the glory of the city which sat in unconquerable pride upon her seven hills. State after state of ancient Italy, adorned with the arts and culture of a thousand years, fell before the concentrated energy of Roman will, guiding the resistless force of the Roman sword. The Roman is stern and strong. He loves bravery, and is not averse to the virtues of sincere and open conduct. He is practical, legislative, organizing; but he has no innate love of letters, and no genius for art.

"Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento,"

was in the heart of the Roman, ages before it found melodious utterance in Virgil's hexameter. But the empire of Rome was not that of rude force alone. A love of legal order, a systematic administration of justice, a strict subordination of the members of society and the members of the family, were the moral foundations on which the state reposed. From Greece, long before the conquest, she borrowed the materials of her earliest code; and when the progress of time demanded the elegancies of literature, Greece was the source from which the genial influence came. The stage at Rome is trodden by players who personate Greek, and not Roman characters, in pieces constructed from the plots of the copious dramatic literature of Athens. The Roman language deserts its original rhythm, and is moulded to the more plastic measures of the Greek. But the imperial spirit of Rome covets the dominion of Hellas. Occasions and pretexts that seem to justify her interference are not wanting. Her eagles cross the Adriatic, and, first having reduced Etolia and Macedonia to Roman provinces, then commence a struggle with the Achaian League. The Achaian League, like other opponents of Rome, falls before the discipline of the republican arms, and the destruction of Cor-

inth by the unlettered Consul Mummius completes the subjugation of Greece, which, under the name of Achaia, now forms a part of the Roman Empire. Mummius sends off, as trophies of his victory, many of the choice works of art with which that capital is crowded; and so ignorant is he of their rare excellence, that he tells the contractors for their removal to be very careful, for if any of them are lost he shall insist upon their supplying their place with others equally good. The Greeks, in general, took but little interest in this event, regarding it as a mere political change; and the wise Polybius, whose writings are a storehouse of political philosophy, and who was appointed by the Senate to make the circuit of the Peloponnesian cities and expound the principles of the Roman Constitution, thought so despairingly of the state of Grecian affairs previous to the Roman conquest that, after this event was accomplished, he said, with epigrammatic point, repeating the phrase as if gathered from the lips of the people, "Had we not been speedily ruined, we should not have been saved," — so deep was the conviction at that time that the dissensions of the Greeks made the longer preservation of their independence an impossibility. An able historian, Zosimus, who, in the fifth century, wrote on the decline of the Roman Empire, truly remarks of the Greeks: "Had they remained contented with their lot, and had not the Athenians and Lacedæmonians fallen into dissension and strife for the supremacy in Grecian affairs, foreigners would never have been masters of Hellas." This, in truth, is the moral of the whole story.

The Roman administration of Greece, commencing about the middle of the second century before Christ, was at first wise and moderate. The public burdens, instead of being increased, were lessened. The local administrations and municipal institutions remained unchanged, so far as they were compatible with the exercise of supreme power by the Romans. The conquerors felt the superiority of the conquered in letters and art; and though they had no profound appreciation of these excellent ornaments of the life of man, yet they at first con-

ceded to the authors and cultivators of them a social esteem very flattering to the vanity of the Hellenic race. In general, they paid respect to their religious feelings, and to their objects of worship, so that the plundering of temples and robbing cities of cherished works of art, which afterwards became one of the most irritating forms of proconsular oppression, was looked upon with abhorrence by the honorable men at Rome. Polybius uses the strongest language when he speaks of the Roman honesty. Under these circumstances, as Mr. Finlay says, "prudence and local interests would everywhere favor submission to Rome; national vanity alone would whisper incitements to venture on a struggle for independence."

The Mithridatic war furnished the occasion on which the national vanity, concurring with the private inclinations of many leading men, induced the Greeks to make the attempt to regain their liberty. Sulla was charged with the conduct of the war against the king of Pontus; and when he appeared in Greece at the head of a powerful army, Athens confronted him almost single-handed, the other states having submitted as promptly as they had taken up arms. Sulla laid siege to the city, and found it no easy task, with the whole force of his army and the abundant resources with which he was supplied, to reduce the fiery republicans under the energetic command of Aristion. At last, their material means of defence being exhausted, they resorted to a mode of proceeding quite characteristic of the Athenians, — they sent out some of their orators to try what eloquence could do with the hard-headed Roman. Admitted to an audience, the spokesman began to remind the general of their past glory, and was proceeding to touch upon Marathon, when the surly soldier fiercely growled, "I was sent here to punish rebels, not to study history." And he did punish them. He broke down the wall between the Peiraic and the Sacred Gate, and poured in his soldiers to plunder and slay. With drawn swords they swept through the streets. The ground ran blood, which deluged with its horrid tide the ancient burying-place of the Cera-

meicus. Most of the citizens were slain, and their property was plundered by the soldiers. The groves of the Academy and the Lyceum were cut down, and columns were carried away from the temple of Olympian Zeus to ornament the city of Rome. The town of Peiræus was utterly destroyed, being treated with more severity than Athens itself. From this frightful moment the decline of the population of Greece commenced. "Both parties," says the able historian to whom I have already alluded, "during the Mithridatic war, inflicted severe injuries on Greece, plundered the country, and destroyed property most wantonly, while many of the losses were never repaired. The foundations of national prosperity were undermined; and it henceforward became impossible to save from the annual consumption of the inhabitants the sums necessary to replace the accumulated capital of ages which this short war had annihilated. In some cases the wealth of the communities became insufficient to keep the existing public works in repair."

Scarcely had the storm of Roman war passed by, when the Cilician pirates, finding the coasts of Greece peculiarly favorable for their marauding incursions, and tempted by the wealth accumulated in the cities and temples, commenced their depredations on so gigantic a scale that Rome felt obliged to put forth all her military forces for their suppression. The exploits of Pompey the Great, who was clothed with autocratic power to destroy this gigantic evil, fill the brightest chapter in the history of that celebrated but too unfortunate commander. He captured ninety brazen-beaked ships, and took twenty thousand prisoners, with whom he repeopled the ancient town of Soli, which henceforth was called Pompeiopolis. The civil wars in which the great Republic expired had the fields of Greece for their theatre. Under the tramp of contending armies, her fertile plains were desolated, and Roman blood, in a cause not her own, again and again moistened her soil.

But at length the civil wars have come to an end, and the Empire introduces, for the first time in the melancholy history

of man, a state of universal peace. Greece still maintains her pre-eminence in literature and art, and her schools are frequented by the sons of the Roman aristocracy. Her elder poets serve as models to the literary genius of the Augustan age. Horace copies Alcæus, and admires Sappho. Virgil imitates Theocritus in his Eclogues, and the Iliad and Odyssey in his Æneid. The historians form themselves on Attic prototypes; and the philosophers of Rome divide themselves among the Grecian sects, while in Athens the Platonists, the Stoics, the Peripatetics, and the Epicureans still haunt the scenes with which the names of their masters were inseparably associated. The ancient spirit which animated the breasts of the Greeks in the republican days, and which broke forth like an expiring gleam in Philopœmen and Polybius, had either utterly vanished from the hearts of the people, or had been smothered and oppressed into silence by the evils of the times. The country was, however, still covered with splendid temples, and crowded with works of art, — the productions of the best ages; nor had the practice of art been entirely lost. But the ravages of war had left the principal cities in such a condition, that even in the time of Cicero they suggested melancholy reflections to the most thoughtful minds. Says Sulpicius, in his letter of consolation to the great orator: "When I returned from Asia, and was sailing from Ægina towards Megara, I began to gaze upon the regions around me. Behind me lay Ægina; before me, Megara; on my right, Peiræus; on my left, Corinth,—cities which once were most flourishing, but now lie overwhelmed and in ruins." Such was the general aspect of that illustrious region even then; but the great temples, whose ruins still astonish the traveller by their magnificence and melancholy beauty, had suffered nothing from time, and comparatively little from the hand of man. They were regarded, even by those who had no conception of the genius required for their construction, with a certain awe and reverence, though they already began to despise the decaying nation that built them.

The establishment of the Empire made but little change in the administration of Greece. Augustus, indeed, showed no great solicitude, except to maintain the country in subjection by his military colonies, — especially those of Patræ and Nicopolis. He even deprived Athens of the privileges she had enjoyed under the Republic, and broke down the remaining power of Sparta by declaring the independence of her subject towns. Some of his successors treated the country with favor, and endeavored, by a clement use of authority, to mitigate the sufferings of its decline. Even Nero, the amiable fiddler of Rome, was proud to display the extent of his musical abilities in their theatres. He listened eagerly to the flatteries of the Greeks, as they accompanied him from city to city; received with complacency the eighteen hundred laurel crowns with which they decorated him; and when at last, in an excess of adulation which it is wonderful he did not suspect of satire, they styled him the Saviour of the Human Race, the monster repaid the compliment by declaring them free from tribute. The noble Trajan allowed the Greeks to retain their former local privileges, and did much to improve their condition by his wise and just administration.

Hadrian was a passionate lover of Greek art and literature. Athens especially received the amplest benefits from his taste and wealth. He finished the temple of Olympian Zeus; established a public library; built a pantheon and a gymnasium; rebuilt the temple of Apollo at Megara; improved the old roads of Greece and made new ones, and especially rendered the difficult highway into Peloponnesus by the Scironian Rocks passable for wheeled carriages. A part of this road is still to be seen, running along those dangerous and lofty precipices, with the ruined masses of the immense substructions which supported it. Antoninus and Marcus Aurelius showed good will to Greece. The latter rebuilt the temple at Eleusis, and improved the Athenian schools, raising the salaries of the teachers, and in various ways contributing to make Athens, as it had been before, the most illustrious seat of learning in the world.

It was in the reign of this Emperor, in the second century of our era, that one of the greatest benefactors of Athens and all Greece lived, — Herodes Atticus, distinguished alike for wealth, learning, and eloquence. Born at Marathon within sight of the spot where the Persian hosts were defeated, educated at Athens by the best teachers his father's wealth could procure, he became on going to Rome, in early life, the rhetorical teacher of Marcus Aurelius himself. Antoninus Pius bestowed on him the honor of the consulship; but he preferred the career of a teacher at Athens to the highest political dignities which imperial favor placed within his reach, and he was followed thither by young men of the most eminent Roman families, from the Emperor's down. At a later period he withdrew from Athens to Cephissia, a town about eight miles distant, which he adorned by a magnificent villa, with porticos, walks, groves, and fountains, traces of which still remain. At Athens, south of the Ilissus, he built the stadium, lined with Pentelic marble, whose enormous dimensions testify to the munificent liberality of the princely citizen; and the theatre of Regilla, so named in honor of his wife, at the southwestern angle of the Acropolis, the walls, arches, and seats of which are to a great extent still remaining, though the interior is encumbered with the accumulated rubbish of sixteen centuries. At Corinth he built a theatre; at Olympia, an aqueduct; at Delphi, a race-course; and at Thermopylæ, a hospital. Peloponnesus, Eubœa, Bœotia, and Epeirus experienced his bounty; and even Italy was not forgotten in the lavish distribution of his wealth. He died in A. D. 180. The grateful citizens of Athens would not allow his body to be buried at Marathon, as he had desired, but insisted on bestowing upon his remains every honor in their power to devise. His praises were commemorated in a funeral discourse by his friend and pupil Adrianus, of whose genius Herodes had expressed the strongest admiration. Of the numerous literary works of this illustrious citizen, whose character and genius gild the declining days of Athens, nothing has been preserved; but few

have left so many traces of public spirit and generosity in the land of their birth.

About the middle of the third century, the Gothic hordes began to appear on the northern frontiers of Greece. A few years later they crossed the Hellespont and the Ægean, and descended upon the coasts of Attica. Disembarking at the Peiræus, they marched upon Athens, which was bravely but unsuccessfully defended by Dexippus, who added the abilities of a general to the attainments of a scholar and a philosopher. I am sorry we have so few traces of this accomplished warrior. He did not let the Goths escape with impunity; but, rallying his followers in a grove near the city, addressed them in an animating harangue: —

"Bravery, and not the number of combatants, controls the issue of war. Our force is still considerable. Our army numbers two thousand warriors: our position is concealed. From this spot we must attack the enemy when they disperse over the country. So will victory inspire us with new vigor, and fill the enemy with terror. . . . . If we meet them in open fight, reflect that courage mounts with danger. Victory comes unhoped for in the hour of need, and in battle for all that is dearest, when the soldier is animated with the hope of revenge. And who have a juster cause of vengeance than we, who see our families and our city in the power of the enemy? . . . . I am resolved to share your fate, — to fight boldly for all that is dearest; and be assured I will take care that through me the glory of our city shall never be dishonored. . . . . It becomes us to remember the deeds of our fathers; to shine forth an example of bravery and freedom to the other Greeks; and to secure for ourselves, among the present and future generations, the imperishable renown of having shown by our actions that the courage of the Athenians remains unbroken, even in adversity. We march to battle to redeem our children, and all that is dear to us. May the gods be our support!"

The army received his words in a transport of enthusiasm, and demanded to be led to instant battle. We have no clear

account of what followed; but it appears that, after the barbarians had sated themselves with the plunder of the city, they found some difficulty in escaping to their ships, or hurrying to the North. They rushed tumultuously through Bœotia, Acarnania, Thessaly, and Epeirus, spreading terror and destruction wherever they went. We know, however, that Athens was subjected to the plunder of these savages. It is related by Zonaras, that one of the Gothic chiefs, finding a party of his soldiers on the point of burning the libraries of Athens, having collected the books in a pile, told them to leave these things to the effeminate Greeks; for the hand accustomed to the smoothness of papyrus would but feebly grasp the brand of the warrior. Happy influence of letters, which, had it universally prevailed, would have saved the earth from becoming the dreadful slaughter-house it has been in every age, and seems likely to be again in ours!

The language of Greece, no longer existing under the forms of numerous dialects of equal classical authority in their several countries and in special departments of literature, had become, under the designation of the Later Attic, or Hellenistic, the medium of political communication and literary composition throughout the Eastern world. Intellectual activity in Egypt, where the institutions of the Ptolemies were respected by the Roman Emperors, assumed a motley aspect among the philosophic and Oriental systems and jargons, which were concentrated in an astonishing medley in this land of pyramids and hieroglyphics. Of the poetical names which shine with mild lustre here we have Callimachus, the author of the Hymns; Theocritus, the pastoral poet, whose naïve Sicilian Doric still charms the student more than the stately imitations of Virgil; Apollonius, the Rhodian; Lycophron, chiefly famous for his unintelligibility, whose sixty tragedies (thank Heaven!) have not come down to us. In history we have Arrian, who wrote the narrative of Alexander's campaigns; in prose eloquence, Dion Chrysostomus, whose orations are among the best specimens of writing in that period; while Lucian's

grave irony, incomparable wit, polished Attic style, and unsurpassed good-sense will make him a favorite so long as a taste for these qualities survives among men.

Christianity was early preached and churches established, not only among the Greeks of Asia Minor, but on the continent of Greece, as appears by the apostolic documents themselves. The most memorable passage in the apostolic history beyond all comparison is the appearance of St. Paul at Athens, and his discourse to the philosophers who courteously invited him up the hill of Mars, the most sacred and venerable spot from the mythical times down to the latest days of Attic splendor.

The Greeks, though some of them found the preaching of the Apostles foolishness, were in many respects morally and intellectually susceptible of its influences. Some of the elder thinkers had almost reasoned out the distinguishing doctrines of Christianity. Plato, looking upon the sorrowful and fallen condition of man, had felt the need of a Divine Being to raise him up and restore him to the lost dignity of his nature. Socrates, his master, had reflected upon the immortality of the soul, and the joys of a better life to come, until these sublime truths assumed a clearness and consistency that nerved him to the felon's death which an unjust sentence had doomed him to suffer; and just as he was about to drink the fatal hemlock, he gave utterance to the evangelic principle, that it is better to forgive injuries than to avenge them. The tenderness and humanity of the Christian faith found an echo in the Grecian heart; and a sentiment deeper than curiosity — though that mingled largely in the emotions of the hour — secured to the great Apostle the respectful attention of the most cultivated audience he ever addressed. Philosophy had strengthened the advanced minds of Greece, and the most accomplished intellects of Rome, but still had left a profound void in the heart. No doubt, when death parted families, bereaving the parent of the hope and the charm of life, or leaving tender children orphans in a desolate world, the sunshine of na-

ture lighted the universe in vain for their sorrowing spirits, and the theories of philosophy fell far short of that blessed assurance which alone could soothe the agony of the dark hour. At this period the belief in the ancient divinities must have died out in nearly every thinking mind. The glory of the nation had suffered an eclipse, from which the gods of Olympus had been powerless to save. Private life had been overwhelmed with disaster and woe; and philosophy could help only the sterner natures to bear the general lot with composure. The tenderness of the sepulchral inscriptions in the anthologies, and of those briefer ejaculations of sorrowing affection from the dying to the living and the living to the dying, which still speak to us so touchingly from the crumbling marbles of ancient Hellenic tombs, tells us by what is not said, still more eloquently than by what is expressed, how ready was the heart of Hellas for the deeper consolations of the Christian faith.

The temples remained in their magnificence; ceremonies and processions represented the ancient pomp of popular worship: but, in many cases, the wealth belonging to them was monopolized by private persons, or diverted from its religious use by the corporations charged with its management, and Christianity gained a victory — though not without a long struggle against the conservative element of Paganism — over the indifference of the people to their ancient rites.

Besides the peculiar consolations afforded by Christianity to the afflicted of all ranks and classes, there were popular elements in its early forms which could not fail to commend it to the regards of common men. It borrowed the designation *ecclesia* from the old popular assembly, and *liturgy* from the services required by law of the richer citizens in the popular festivities. It taught the equality of all men in the sight of God; and this doctrine could not fail to be affectionately welcomed by a down-trodden people. The Christian congregations were organized upon democratic principles, at least in Greece, and presented a semblance of the free assemblies

of former times; and the daily business of communities was, equally with their spiritual affairs, transacted under these popular forms. "From the moment a people," says a recent writer, "in the state of intellectual civilization in which the Greeks were, could listen to the preachers, it was certain they would adopt the religion. They might alter, modify, or corrupt it, but it was impossible they should reject it. The existence of an assembly in which the dearest interests of all human beings were expounded and discussed in the language of truth, and with the most earnest expressions of persuasion, must have lent an irresistible charm to the investigation of the new doctrine among a people possessing the institutions and feelings of the Greeks. Sincerity, truth, and a desire to persuade others, will soon create eloquence, where numbers are gathered together. Christianity revived oratory, and with oratory it awakened many of the characteristics which had slept for ages. The discussions of Christianity gave also new vigor to the commercial and municipal institutions, as they improved the intellectual qualities of the people."

But it was impossible for such organizations to exist, without gradually rising to an important influence in the state; and it was impossible for the maxims of Christianity to gain an extensive prevalence, without coming into collision with the maxims of the Roman government. The responsibility of rulers and the ruled to a common and inexorable tribunal could not be very tasteful to the rapacious masters of the Roman Empire; and the doctrine of equality and brotherhood was a strange lesson for those whose policy and arms had enslaved the world. A bond which united the Christians of all countries in the strictest relations of friendship and affection could not but be viewed with suspicion by those who regarded the citizenship of Rome as the most binding and exalted relation possible among men. The Roman, too, was in his nature less susceptible of religious influences than the Greek. He looked upon Christianity in its supposed political bearings, and persecuted it accordingly. But, in spite of all obstacles, in defi-

ance of all persecutions, Christianity, in the earlier ages, identified itself with the habits, thoughts, sentiments, hopes, and nationality of the Hellenic race. It was bound up with their language, in which the Apostles and earlier Christian fathers preached and taught and wrote. It held them together, and saved them from absorption into the vast body of the Roman Empire, and from annihilation by the hordes of barbarians which swept the country like a whirlwind or settled upon it like devouring locusts. It ascended the throne with Constantine, who carried it to Byzantium; and perhaps we shall see it again ascend the throne of that ancient capital, supplant the crescent by the cross, and reconsecrate the mosque of Saint Sophia to the service of that Holy Wisdom to which its imposing grandeur was originally consecrated.

"Be but Byzantium's native sign
Of cross on crescent once unfurled,
And Greece shall guard, by right divine,
The portals of the Eastern world."

LECTURE III.

FROM CONSTANTINE TO THE BYZANTINE PERIOD.

In the last Lecture I gave a cursory review of the history of the Greeks, down to the time when Christianity, having taken a strong hold of the national feelings and identified itself with the institutions and ideas of the country, ascended the imperial throne in the person of Constantine. Of course, with this important event, and, in all worldly aspects, most brilliant triumph, the persecution of the Church ceased, and a period of profound tranquillity ensued. Constantine was not a very attractive specimen of the Christian character. He was able, energetic, and unscrupulous about the means of accomplishing his ends. If the life of a rival or an antagonist stood in his way, he had no hesitation about taking it; and the blood of those bound to him by relationship was not always spared. But he deserves the praise of being less sanguinary and remorseless than was usual among the candidates for the imperial throne in those unhappy centuries. He was no bigot to Paganism before he embraced Christianity; and he was sufficiently enlightened to understand the uselessness of persecuting an enthusiastic, growing, and in the main, as he must have perceived, a truly moral and sincerely pious sect. His conduct was marked by this wise moderation on religious subjects before he reached the throne; and after he became master of the world he refused to persecute either Pagans or Christians. It was not until towards the end of his life that he openly professed the religion he had long favored, and put the seal to his conversion by the rite of baptism. He had protected the Christian, and encouraged the Pagan. He presided in a Christian Council before he

professed the Christian religion. His coin appears with the Christian monogram, and the attributes of a heathen god. Having enjoyed the honors of a Pontifex Maximus, he was baptized to secure the certainty of Christian salvation. After death he was worshipped as a god, and adored as a saint. Perhaps, on the whole, no man ever more completely verified the old Latin definition of a politician, — *homo ita serviens Deo ut Diabolum non offendat*, — "a man so serving God as not to offend the Devil."

One effect of the transfer of the seat of government to Byzantium was to bring the Greeks into more direct communication with the Roman administration. It was the aim of the first Roman Emperors in Byzantium — those of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries — to establish the Latin language, the Roman law, and Roman institutions generally, on a more permanent footing than they had yet had in the East. The influence of the court had some effect. Those who were connected with it, or dependent on its favors, prided themselves on adopting the style, manners, and dignities of Roman officials: they called themselves Romans, and their country Rome; and even the spoken Greek language was subsequently known, and is known down to the present day, as the Romaic. In the writings of those times we find a strange jumble of Latin with the Greek, especially in the legal documents. But this effect did not extend among the Greeks generally. The strong nationality of the race easily withstood the tide of foreign manners; and, while the dignitaries of the Empire and some of the leading ecclesiastics were indulging in the pomps and ceremonies of the Roman court at Constantinople, the body of the Greek people and the humbler clergy remained faithful to Hellenic ideas, and to the simple forms of the religion they had received from the Apostles and their immediate successors. In fact, their aim was to make Constantinople a Greek, and not a Latin city. The Roman spirit of the administration was gradually destroyed, though the capital resisted the national feeling, and, giving itself up to the enjoyment of the largesses and the

games of the circus granted by the favor of the Emperors, remained insensible to the sufferings of the provinces and the decline of the Empire.

It does not accord with my purpose to recapitulate the military and civil changes introduced into the machinery of the government by Constantine, and which, though skilfully arranged, separated the administration, as a bureaucracy, from the national feelings, originating that opposition between the interests of the government and those of the people which still crushes the hopes of the patriot over a great portion of the civilized world. In Greece, the local governments were allowed to exist; but the public burdens were rigorously enforced by the imperial government, so that the reforms inaugurated by Constantine were of no substantial benefit to the Greeks as a nation. A system of monopoly, — since imitated by that over-praised barbarian, the Pacha of Egypt, — in which the Emperor and the members of the imperial household largely shared, interfered with the natural course of commerce, and tended to impoverish the provinces, and to weaken the barriers which the Empire had maintained against the inroads of the barbarians.

The remarkable career of the Emperor Julian, who ascended the throne in 361 A. D., twenty-four years after the death of Constantine, deserves a brief notice, with reference to its bearings on the condition and fortunes of the Greeks. In his childhood and youth, though under the jealous eye of Constantius, and deprived of liberty, he was nevertheless carefully educated, both in the dogmas of the established Church and in Greek and Roman literature. Athens was still the centre of Greek culture; and here, after obtaining with difficulty the Emperor's consent, Julian was permitted for a time to lead the life of a private scholar. His acquirements and his elegant tastes attracted the attention of the most eminent masters, and he passed his time with a circle of young men of congenial pursuits, among whom was Gregory of Nazianzus, who was afterwards known as a Christian

orator, a bitter enemy of the apostate Emperor, and a fiery antagonist of the Arians. In a short time Julian was roused from these peaceful pursuits, and placed in a military command in the western and northern provinces of the Empire. He describes his feelings on quitting Athens, in his letter to the Athenians: "What fountains of tears did I shed, what lamentations did I utter, stretching my hands up towards the Acropolis, when I besought and supplicated Athene to save her servant, and not to abandon him!" His brilliant successes again awoke the jealousy of the Emperor Constantius, who recalled the better portion of his troops, under pretence of needing them for the defence of the East. The troops refused to obey, and, breaking into the lodgings of their beloved commander, forced him to accept the imperial crown. Before he came into actual conflict with the armies of the East, the Emperor died; and now, without opposition, Julian mounted the throne. Up to this moment he had disguised his apostasy from the religion in which he had been educated, though it had already been suspected by his brother Gallus, by Gregory, and perhaps by others. The policy of Constantine, the cruelty of Constantius, and the persecuting spirit already displaying itself between the Orthodox and Arians, backed by the arguments of the Athenian philosophers with whom he had chiefly associated, had completely alienated him from the Christian faith. He, however, published an edict of toleration, professing to secure to both Christians and Pagans the rights of conscience; but he gratified his private inclination by preferring Pagans to Christians in civil and military offices, and forbidding Christians to teach rhetoric and grammar in the schools. He was initiated into the mysteries of Eleusis; did much towards restoring Athens, Argos, and Corinth to their ancient splendor; re-established the Isthmian games; and in many other ways manifested his passionate attachment to Greece, her literature, her institutions, and her arts. But the dream of restoring to her declining gods the ancient reverence was that of an enthusiast, though an imperial enthusiast; of a pedant in Paganism, though a very able and perhaps honest pedant.

The conflicting passions of the age have given rise to distorted views of Julian's character. The adherents of the old mythology regarded him as a god, while most of the Christians, of his own and subsequent times, believed him little better than a devil. The work he wrote against the Christian dogmas, though it excited a prodigious controversy in its day, is known only by tradition, and through extracts preserved by Cyril, who replied to it, — the copies of the book having been destroyed by Theodosius II. The impression made by his name in later times is due chiefly to the odious epithet of Apostate, which is uniformly his designation. In reality, he was a philosopher of great moderation, and a sovereign whose reign was distinguished, above those of most of his successors, for devotion to the happiness of the people. Those of his writings which are not on controversial subjects display uncommon literary talent, for the age, and some of them are of great historical importance. Two or three of them — his "Cæsars, or the Banquet," and the "Misopogon," or Beard-Hater — exhibit a considerable talent for satire. But his deliberately preferring Paganism to Christianity, in consequence of the quarrels and scandalous conduct of some of the professors of the latter, and the superior urbanity and literary accomplishments of some of the adherents of the former, instead of forming his opinion upon the moral and religious ideas which lie at the foundation of the two, respectively, will justly and forever deprive him of the praise of being a profound thinker. He borrowed from the Christians many of their peculiar views of duty, without knowing or acknowledging that they had not been inspired by heathenism. He founded charities, provided for the poor, aimed at the suppression of vice and profligacy, just as if he had been a zealous Christian prince; while his speech and his writings breathed nothing but sarcasm against the Galileans, as he contemptuously called the followers of Christ. He abhorred the theatre with as much fervor as Athanasius did. He could seldom be persuaded to appear in the hippodrome, and then only for a few moments. The licentious festivities

with which his arrival was greeted at Antioch were as odious to him as they would have been to Oliver Cromwell. As he was paraded through the city, under the escort of pimps and parasites and dancing women, to the sound of soft music and lascivious songs, he was as absurdly out of place as a professor of moral philosophy would be among the orgies of the Five Points. His description of the morals of Antioch, in the Misopogon, corresponds exactly with that of St. Chrysostom in his homilies, and his own personal asceticism would have shone with saintly austerity among the enthusiasts of the Thebaid. These singularities brought him frequently into strange companionship, both among Christians and heathens. His love of letters was often too strong for his religious prejudices; and he lost no occasion for testifying his appreciation of learning, even in one of the hated sect. But he did not always discriminate wisely; apparently thinking that one Christian was as good or as bad as another; or that, where the best were low enough, the worst were but little lower.

Among Julian's contemporaries was that prince of rogues, the patron saint of England. St. George of Cappadocia, a man of low birth and of lower character, led a singular life, and has had, in ecclesiastical history and fable, a very singular *post-mortem* fortune. He began with being a parasite of the rich. Then he was a contractor to supply the army with bacon, and cheated in the performance of his engagements. He wandered about for a time, and then fixed himself in Alexandria, where he began to do mischief, as one of his accusers asserts. He became a receiver of the public revenues, and acquired the name of ταμειόφαγος, or treasury-eater. The fierce controversy between the Arians and the Orthodox being at its height, and the Emperor Constantius favoring the Arians, George too became a zealous Arian, and so received the appointment of Bishop of Alexandria, as successor to Athanasius, who had been banished. The new prelate went to Alexandria, with letters of recommendation from the Emperor himself. The Trinitarians were driven from their churches; men were beaten

with scourges of thorns, widows and orphans plundered, and many holy women driven into the desert. The Orthodox revolted against these outrages of the metropolitan, and he was obliged to flee to save his life. But the Trinitarians were again expelled by order of the Emperor, and the exemplary Bishop was restored. He exhibited a most uncanonical greed for money, and sought to get monopolies of nitre, papyrus, salt, painted coffins, and the management of funerals. At length he began to persecute the Pagans; but while he was in the midst of his proceedings against them, the news arrived of the accession of the Emperor Julian, which encouraged them to rise in insurrection. At this moment George was presiding in a synod. The insurgents rushed in, seized him, and were about to put him to death, when he was rescued by the magistrates, and for security put into prison. But the prison was mobbed; he was dragged out, bound on a camel, paraded through the streets, then torn in pieces, and burned to ashes. Yet this person — a peculator, parasite, persecutor, monopolist, and worse than all this in the view of those who have generally represented the dogmas of the Church, a heretic — became a recognized saint, and, with the subsequent addition of the Dragon, arrived in the reign of Edward III. at the dignity of the tutelary genius of England, which, strangely enough, he still holds, though the revolutions of theological opinion have made the office a sinecure.

This blessed saint was not, however, without some tincture of cultivation. He had been on terms of literary intercourse with Julian, who, in the epistle I am about to quote, speaks of having borrowed books of him to be copied. In a letter to the Alexandrians, the Emperor severely censures them for the murder of the Bishop, and reads them a sound lecture on the wickedness of slaying a man, even though guilty of the highest offences against them and their religion, when they might have brought him to justice by an appeal to the laws. Nevertheless, after his death, the Emperor wrote the following characteristic epistle to the Prefect of Egypt: "Some love horses;

some, birds; and others, other animals; but from my childhood up I have had a vehement passion for the acquisition of books. It were absurd, then, if I were to neglect the present opportunity of securing those of the Bishop. I beg you therefore to do me the peculiar favor of looking up all the books of George. For he had many of the philosophers, many of the rhetoricians, and many treatises on the doctrines of the Galileans, which I could wish indeed were annihilated. But in order that more useful books may not perish with this trash, I would have these too carefully preserved. Let the notary (or secretary) of George direct you in the search. If he execute the commission faithfully, he shall receive his liberty; but if not, then he shall be put to the torture. When I was in Cappadocia, George lent me some books to be copied, which he took back again afterwards."

One of the most singular compositions of Julian was the "Misopogon," or Beard-Hater, the object of which is to hold up to ridicule the loose morals and effeminate habits of the people of Antioch. It seems to have been the fashion among the people of that city to shave themselves. Julian was too conservative in his tastes and temper to fall into this effeminate innovation. He wore his beard in the antique fashion, and incurred the ridicule of the Antiochians for so doing. He retorted upon them by this piece, which he is said to have written while sojourning in their city. Part of it is in a light and ironical vein, descriptive of his own simple and austere habits, which he affects to consider as faults, while he treats their vices and extravagances as so many excellent qualities which he was unfitted to acquire. But towards the close he forgets the tone of banter, and remonstrates, in the severest style, upon the ingratitude of the people of Antioch for numerous and important benefits they had received at his hands, — such as the remission of public burdens, and the like; and finally rates them soundly for being so negligent of their religious duties towards the gods. "I hurried," says he, "on the day of the festival of Apollo, to Daphne, supposing that I should there enjoy the

spectacle of your wealth and magnificence. I silently pictured to myself a procession, dreaming of victims, libations, choruses, frankincense, in honor of the gods; imagining youths in the temple, with minds composed to a state most befitting the service of the gods, clothed in robes of becoming magnifience. But on entering the temple I found neither incense, nor sacrificial cake, nor any victim there. I was at first surprised, but then supposed that you were outside of the temple, waiting for the signal from me, as a mark of honor, as if I were a chief-priest. But when I inquired what the city was going to sacrifice on this annual festival to the god, the priest replied, 'I have brought this goose from home, but the city has made no preparation.' I remonstrated with the council in severe terms," — which he proceeds to repeat, but I shall not imitate his example.

One or two more brief extracts from this curious and entertaining work will be all that time allows. The Emperor seems to consider the vice and dissipation of the city as in some way owing to the decline of the ancient religion, and the introduction of Christianity. As to the moral condition of the people, he was quite right. They were generally voluptuous, addicted passionately to amusements, drinking, low entertainments at the theatres, and the like; but Christianity had already begun the work of purification, which Julian vainly expected from the false worship, now fallen into contempt even among those who had not yet found a better. But I think that what troubled the royal philosopher most, after all, was not the decay of the ancient worship, not the immoralities of the city, not the ingratitude for imperial favors, but the disrespect with which they treated his beard. This was his tender point. Not all the philosophy of all the schools could harden his sensibilities against the satirical allusions which those irreverent, smooth-faced Antiochians were constantly making to this solemn appendage to the royal physiognomy. It is amusing to see how the beard is perpetually turning up, in the midst of the gravest discourse, as if he were saying to himself, "That was the un-

kindest cut of all. It is wrong to neglect Jupiter; it is bad to offer only a goose to Apollo; it is awful to be dissolute; but to flout at the very beard of the Emperor, the gods forgive you, — I cannot." As if rebuking himself, he gravely says: "Nature has not made him so very charming and handsome, that, out of mere moroseness and ugliness of temper, he has added that long beard for no other cause than to punish himself for not being handsomer; which made it quite inconvenient for him to eat or drink; for he had to be very careful not to swallow the beard and bread together. As to giving and receiving kisses, he professes personally his profound indifference. Nevertheless he admits that a long beard does really appear to have this inconvenience, that it does not permit to join smooth lips to smoother and therefore sweeter lips."

There is a curious passage in which he describes Lutetia, where he went into winter quarters on one of his campaigns. He calls it *beloved Lutetia*, but for very different reasons from those which make Paris so attractive now. What charmed him was the rough simplicity of the Parisians, who found nothing to object to in the rudeness of his person, the coarseness of his manners, or the plainness of his diet. The contrast he draws between the simplicity and rusticity of Paris, and the excessive refinement of Antioch, shows curiously the changes wrought by time in the condition and character of great cities. Against the rustic Paris he sets off the opulent and flourishing city of Antioch, — with many dancers, many musicians, more players than citizens, and no reverence for princes. "They revel," says he, "in the morning, and give the night up to pleasure. Their delight is in the public squares and in the theatres; the people enjoying the applauses and the tumult; the magistrates taking pleasure in the opportunity of gaining more reputation by the sums they have lavished on these entertainments, than Solon the Athenian gained by his conversation with Crœsus, the king of the Lydians." In short, the two cities appear to have completely changed places.

I have perhaps dwelt too long on the writings of Julian; but,

in spite of his apostasy and his pedantry, I confess to a strong liking for the man. He was the last of the heathen Emperors; and the brave struggle he made to bring back the fair humanities of the old religion excites a certain respect. I like to picture him walking among the olive-groves of Athens, treading thoughtfully the porticos where the great philosophers had so long met, to discuss their various theories, and to enlighten their crowds of pupils by animated instructions. I fancy him dreaming over the elder glories of the renowned city, and with learned enthusiasm anticipating their restoration. I like his passion for letters, and his preference of books over horses and birds. I like him for having scorned delights and lived laborious days, in an age when the love of pleasure drowned zeal for public good in the enervating voluptuousness of private life. I honor him for preserving his purity of morals under the imperial purple, in an age when assassination and profligacy held their shameless and bloody revels in the regal halls of Constantinople. With such accomplishments, such talents, and such virtues, I grudge him to the heathens. *Utinam noster esset!* But he was the last gleam of Pagan glory that illuminated the imperial throne.

While speaking of the character and literary merits of this imperial friend of Greece and visionary restorer of the old religion, whose reign is considered by some writers to have been the last fortunate period in the sad annals of that country, I will add a few words upon one of his contemporaries, whose distinction lay exclusively in literature, and whose life may serve as a sketch of the heathen literary character under its most favorable aspect in that age. From what has been said, it will appear that the profession of literature was by no means despised. It was not only a ground of imperial favor, but the schools in Athens, Alexandria, Tarsus, Antioch, and other places, opened careers very attractive to men of quiet tempers and literary tastes. It is true, there was no *bema* now for political eloquence. The tragic stage, once the pulpit of the heathen world, had been supplanted by singers, dancers,

dancing elephants, chariot-races, and fights of wild beasts. All, except the more austere among the Christians, and the puritanical Pagan Emperor, dropped in daily to refresh themselves by these debasing amusements, so that the stage held out no inducement to men of genius, had any such arisen. The only public which the literary class could directly address was the public of the schools; and the topics on which they wrote were accordingly scholastic. There was literary skill; there was cultivated taste; there was learning; but the fresh and animating breath of civic life was wanting. The scholastic literature of the period shows great fertility of resource; and among the best writers and most accomplished men whose works remain was Libanius the Sophist. This distinguished literary man was born at Antioch early in the fourth century, and, after acquiring the rudiments of his education in his native place, resorted to Athens to complete his studies, where his talents, his zeal for learned pursuits, and his love of the old classics gained him much attention, and opened a career as teacher of rhetoric, in which he might easily have made himself a prominent person in that city. But he preferred another course. Returning to Asia, he was induced to remain in Constantinople, where he opened a private school, whose success excited the jealousy of the public teachers to such a degree, that they accused him of magic, and procured his expulsion from the city. From Constantinople he went to Nicomedeia, where he taught successfully for the next five years. Twice after this he returned to Constantinople for a temporary residence; but at length, his health failing him, he withdrew to his native city, and there passed the remainder of his life, having again declined the offer of the chair of rhetoric at Athens.

In many points of character he resembled the Emperor Julian, who was his friend and correspondent. The Emperor on one occasion writes to him: "I read your oration almost through yesterday before dinner; after dinner I finished it before resting. You are a happy man to be able so to speak, and still more, so to think. What a style, what mind, what distri-

bution, what arguments, what order, what diction, what harmony, what compactness!" It is worth while to have an Emperor for your correspondent, if he will pay you such compliments when you send him a copy of your last oration. Like the Emperor, Libanius was a Pagan, though a very tolerant one. St. Basil and St. Chrysostom were among his pupils and friends. He survived until near the end of the fourth century. He left a great variety of works, — orations, declamations, letters; but those best known are a Life of Demosthenes, and the Arguments of his Orations, prefixed to most editions of the great orator's works. His style shows the marks of careful imitation of the ancient classics, and in passages it is pre-eminently happy. But the classical simplicity of the age of Xenophon was not the fashion of the fourth century; and Libanius, with all his ability, could not uniformly rise above the faults of his age. In truth, a style formed by imitating the models of an earlier period, however excellent they may be, will always bear the tokens of labor, — will always be stiff and unnatural to a certain extent. The only way of speaking to men with effect is to speak in the language natural to the period, avoiding bad taste where that is fashionable, but not too curiously seeking for the peculiar elegance which belonged to another epoch. The works of Libanius are not only interesting, but of great historical value, with reference both to the political and the literary relations of the times.

These two writers, the one on the throne of the Roman world, the other in the chair of the private teacher, — united, from these opposite extremes of fortune, by similarity of opinion and congeniality of tastes, — give us a good idea of the literary activity of the period, when, though original genius had disappeared and taste had greatly declined, yet the light of the ancient Hellenic intellect still lingered, and cast a golden brightness over the rapid decay.

The Eastern and Western Empires were separated in A. D. 364 by Valentinian and Valens. In the north and east the storm of barbarian invasion was ominously gathering against

the Empire. The Goths were permitted by Valens to pass the Danube, when the fiercer Huns, advancing from the confines of China, compelled them to seek the protection of the Emperor. This movement quartered a million of warriors within the dominions of Rome, between whom and the Empire a desperate war speedily broke out. But the separation of the East from the West bound up the interests of its sovereigns more intimately with the fortunes of their Greek subjects. The Greek language began to supplant the Latin at the court; the feeling of Greek nationality penetrated even to the imperial family; and new vigor seemed about to be infused into the eastern portion of the Empire. The municipal and ecclesiastical organizations of the Greeks gained still greater influence in the general government; and the Christian religion gradually directed the attention of educated men almost exclusively to theological questions. There still remained, however, in the schools, a good number of philosophical adherents to declining Paganism, many of them, like Julian and Libanius, distinguished not only for their literary accomplishments, but for the general purity of their lives; and this circumstance, perhaps, led the Christians to entertain that contempt for human learning which commences about this period. The name of *Hellenes* was gradually limited to the Pagan Greeks of Europe. *Christians* and *Hellenes* became contrasted terms in Greece itself, which still retained the name of Hellas. At the present day this application of *Hellenes* is not unknown in some parts of Greece. The kingdom is called Hellas, and the inhabitants are called Hellenes, among the educated classes, and almost universally by the people; but once, on board a ship in the Corinthian Gulf, I put the question to a Greek sailor, "Are you a *Hellen?*"—not remembering at the moment the theological meaning of the word. He replied, with some animation, thinking I had asked him whether he was a Pagan, "No! I am a Greek,"—meaning, a Greek Christian.

The influence of the lawyers on the general administration of justice began to exercise a very important control, not only

over the judicial tribunals, but as a check to the injustice of proconsuls, and even to the despotism of the Emperors themselves; but it is a singular fact, and one which diminished the beneficial influence of this profession among the Greeks, that, though the Greek was the language of the Eastern Church, yet the Latin was the language of legal business in the East, until the time of Justinian, that is, till after the sixth century, — a circumstance which enabled the clergy, by their more intimate connection with the people, to extend their sphere of activity beyond the range of ecclesiastical, to civil, affairs.

All apparent progress was arrested, or at least interrupted, by the troubles with the barbarians. The Huns pressed forward, subjecting district after district and province after province. In the first half of the fifth century, at the head of an immense troop of followers, Attila advanced upon Europe, and, almost without the show of resistance, invaded, occupied, and desolated all the regions from the Euxine to the Adriatic. Greece, under these swarming hordes, suffered the extremity of spoliation, with all its atrocities and horrors. The Emperor was terrified into purchasing peace by the payment of an annual tribute of two thousand pounds of gold, and the cession of an extensive territory of fifteen days' journey in breadth, and in length reaching from Nyssæ to Belgrade. For the next seven years, Attila was the terror of the East and the West. His exploits were the theme of popular song among the barbarians, and tradition added fable to the facts of history. Under the name of Etzel he reappears in the earliest legends of Germany; and is one of the leading personages in that grand old poem, the Nibelungen-lied. "He was interred," says Sir James Emerson Tennent, "after the ancient manner of the fathers of his nation, — the Huns cutting off their hair, and gashing their faces with hideous wounds, to bewail their chieftain, not with effeminate tears, but with the blood of warriors. His body, placed beneath a silken pavilion, was exhibited in the midst of the plain, whilst the horsemen of his tribe rode around it, and celebrated his exploits in funereal hymns. In the darkness of

midnight, the remains of Attila were enclosed in a golden, and again in a silver coffin, to mark that the Romans and the Greeks had been his tributaries; and all was enveloped in an iron chest, to indicate the untamed ferocity of his dominion. The trappings of his war-horse and his royal insignia were committed to the same sepulchre with himself; and the slaves who hollowed out his tomb were slain when the work was finished, in order that no mortal might disclose the last resting-place of the warrior of the Huns."

Allusion has already been made to the antipathy of some of the Christian fathers to the Pagan literature of the Greeks, called out chiefly by the antagonism between the philosophers who remained faithful to the elder creeds and the Christian leaders. The Greek poets were prohibited authors, and the fine arts were regarded as little else than idolatrous. The decline of learning had become so great, that, when Theodosius II. ascended the throne, he found it necessary to establish a University at Constantinople, to furnish a sufficient supply of educated men for the civil service. Fifteen professors were appointed to teach Greek grammar and literature, thirteen to instruct in Latin, two in law, and one in philosophy. The Senate was charged with the duty of examining the candidates for these chairs. Twenty years' service raised the professors to the rank of nobles of the Empire and the title of Counts. But most of the literary talent and interest of the times was absorbed in unedifying and unending controversies on points which, in their very nature, are incapable of decision, and which, on that very account perhaps, have in every age except the earliest been the bane of the Christian Church. They owe their origin to an unjustifiable solicitude, on the part of speculative minds, to search into the essence of the Divine nature, and to learn those things which Divine Wisdom has seen fit to shroud from human knowledge. The Homoousian question, which kept the Church in an uproar for a thousand years, and the Procession of the Holy Spirit, which split the Christian world, it is absurd to discuss, simply because all the discussion possible adds nothing what-

ever to our knowledge, or to our means of acquiring knowledge, on these subjects. It was an unhappy day for the Church and for Christendom when over-zealous ecclesiastics presumed to travel beyond the instructions of Christ and his Apostles, and to speculate on those relations of the Deity which the Divine Teacher did not undertake to explain. There is no more dismal chapter in the history of literature and the human mind than the history of religious controversy. The controversial writings of the fathers whom I have read are enough to make one renounce theological literature forever, such malice of imputation, such unscrupulous slanders, such false reasoning, such hopeless confusion of the understanding, do they exhibit. The worst passions of human nature are started into the most malignant activity; and the natural result of this long-cherished and deeply-seated hatred of the heretic — that is, of the man who denies some dogma unknown to the Scriptures, and incapable of being expressed except in mystical jargon — is sooner or later to tear him in pieces, burn him at the stake, or subject him to the most exquisite tortures which the diabolical ingenuity of theological odium can invent. There is no more striking contrast than is presented by the tone and temper of the Christian Scriptures, and the controversial writings of the Christian fathers. I do not know that a stronger argument could be framed to prove the Divine inspiration of the writers of the New Testament, than by comparing their gentle and gracious simplicity of loving-kindness, and their profoundly affecting appeals to all that is deepest in the human soul, — a tenderness beyond the tenderness of woman, and a power higher than the mightiest grasp of man, — with the spirit of the very best and ablest leaders in the Christian world, from Athanasius down to Calvin.

History was cultivated in this period, but poetry had nearly perished. Chariot-races took the place of the drama, and mysticism supplanted philosophy. Painting, sculpture, and architecture shared in the general degradation, and the active destruction of the old works of art went rapidly forward, although prohibited by the Theodosian code. The materials

of temples were used in the construction of other buildings, — sometimes of churches. Grecian works of bronze were melted down to make statues of the Emperors, since the fashion of erecting statues to eminent persons, as had been done in Greece from early times, had not yet died out in Constantinople. But even this was offensive to the more zealous of the Christian fathers. John Chrysostom declaimed so violently against the Empress Eudocia, on account of a silver statue in her honor, upon a porphyry column, in the market-place at Constantinople, that the government expelled him from the patriarchal chair.

The long reign of Justinian, from 527 to 565, was in some respects a brilliant one; but, to use the language of another, "it was merely a glowing episode in a tale of ruin, — a meteor in a midnight sky, which flashes brightly for an instant, and, vanishing, leaves no halo of its transient brilliancy behind." Yet he was indefatigably occupied with reforms intended to strengthen the Empire. He embellished the capital with costly edifices, rebuilt the cathedral church of St. Sophia, repaired the walls and towers of Constantinople, the strong-holds in the north of Greece, and the fortifications of Athens and Peiræus, and protected the Peloponnesus by fortresses at Corinth and on the Isthmus. He paid more than a million of dollars towards rebuilding and embellishing Antioch, after it had been overthrown by an earthquake. He abolished the consulship, which had been in existence more than a thousand years. In his reign the schools of Athens and Alexandria, in which doctrines antagonistic to Christianity were still taught, were closed. He was brilliantly successful in his wars, through his generals, and this with his contemporaries gave him still greater glory than his works of peace; but posterity acknowledge him chiefly for his agency in compiling the Institutes, Digest, and Pandects, — the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, which has so largely influenced the administration of justice down to the present day. All this, however, could not save the gigantic, but hollow and feeble Empire, from decay and dissolution under his successors.

The Western Empire ended with the inglorious reign of Romulus Augustulus in the year 476; but the Eastern Empire, under Roman influences, continued for a period of about a hundred and fifty years after Justinian, to the accession of Leo the Isaurian in 717, when, in the opinion of Mr. Finlay, the proper Byzantine period commences. In this century and a half, seventeen Emperors sat upon the throne; but the most important events, so far as the Greeks were concerned, were the settlement of Slavonians and other foreign or barbarous races over the greater part of Greece. The diminution of the Hellenic people which had taken place was owing partly to the general decay of the Empire, and partly to other and local causes, especially to the accumulation of immense landed estates in the hands of individuals. The neglect of roads led to the abandonment of the cultivation of the soil over large tracts of country, and its conversion into pasture-land; and, as the revenues to be derived from a country in this condition were insignificant, the government at Constantinople became indifferent to its defence. The provinces of Greece were thus exposed to the inroads of Slavonian colonists, which commenced early in the sixth century. The progress of their settlements is obscurely intimated by the Byzantine historians; but the fact that they occupied the greater part of Macedonia, and in such numbers that Justinian II., at the end of the seventh century, was able to remove thence into Asia, and settle on the shores of the Bosporus, a colony of one hundred and fifty thousand souls, shows in what numbers they must first have immigrated. They became almost the sole possessors of the territories once occupied by the Illyrians and the Thracians. They advanced southward, occupying the waste lands; but, as they penetrated into the heart of Greece, they met with more obstructions from a denser population, especially in the neighborhood of the still remaining walled towns. In the early part of the eighth century, nearly the whole of the Peloponnesus was occupied by the Slavonians. It was then regarded by pilgrims from Western Europe as Slavonic soil; and the com-

plete colonization of the whole country of Greece and the Peloponnesus is dated by the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus from the time of the great pestilence that depopulated the East, in 746, which is a little later than the commencement of the Byzantine period. Such are the principal facts known in history with regard to this extraordinary series of events, by which an old population was almost entirely displaced in the course of two centuries by swarms of another race coming into the country, partly as warriors and enemies, partly as agriculturists, herdsmen, and shepherds, to occupy the lands left vacant by the greatly diminished numbers of the Greeks. These bodies seem to have been set in motion by wars along the line of the northern provinces; and when they were once established, they lived in a rude and wild independence. They took possession chiefly of the valleys and the interior of the provinces; and they left traces of their possession in the still remaining Slavonic names, which are scattered all over the surface of Greece. The Greeks themselves still held the sea-coasts and the large towns, the ancient Greek names of which were for the most part retained. From time to time the old and the new inhabitants came into collision, and wars raged here and there. Twice at least the aid of the Emperor was supplicated, large armies were sent from Constantinople, and the Slavonians were partially conquered, and compelled to pay tribute to the imperial government.

The singularity of this chapter in Greek history consists in the fact, that this great body of intrusive settlers gradually disappeared from the soil of Greece as mysteriously as they came. Some had of course mingled with the Greeks, were converted to Christianity in the course of time by the blending of families, became Hellenized in language, manners, and blood, and were to all intents and purposes Greeks; just as the descendants of foreign settlers in England, mingling their blood with the native race, lose the original nationality of their ancestors, and become Englishmen. Professor Fallmereyer, indeed, in his learned and entertaining work, written in German,—"The

History of the Peninsula of Morea," — maintains that the Hellenic population was entirely exterminated, and that the people who call themselves Greeks at the present day are nothing but descendants of these Slavonic hordes. The learned Professor has adopted this theory; and if the facts do not correspond with it, so much the worse is it for the facts. His book has called forth several replies in Germany; and his unfounded assumptions and numerous misrepresentations of historical facts have been ably exposed by Zinkeisen, in his excellent History of Greece. But, in truth, it is quite unnecessary to enter largely into historical research to show the utter fallacy of Fallmerayer's opinion. The Slavonians are light-haired, blond-complexioned, and blue-eyed; the Greeks have dark hair, brown complexions, and sparkling black eyes. The Slavonians are broad-faced, stout, and somewhat clumsy; the Greeks are lithe, slender, nimble, and graceful. The same features that we admire in the ancient statues, Nature still reproduces everywhere in Greece. The intellectual qualities, too, of the races are strikingly different. The Greek is lively, quick to understand, adroit, eloquent, curious, eager for novelty; the Slavonian, slow, indifferent, not easily roused to take an interest in anything that does not immediately concern himself. What is more, as you travel though Greece you fall in here and there with descendants of the Slavonians, and other foreign settlers, sometimes occupying an entire village by themselves. Even in Athens there is a quarter inhabited almost exclusively by Albanians; and not ten miles from Athens there is a village where Greek is not understood. Now it is impossible for the most careless observer to mistake these races for one another, either in their looks, or in their speech, or in their mental characteristics. Besides, if the Greeks are all Slavonians, how is it that, while those we know to be of foreign races speak the dialects belonging to those races, — Albanian, and the like, — the great body of the people speak only Greek? How came they to abandon their own language, and to adopt the language of the race they utterly exterminated? Why

did not our ancestors abandon the language they brought with them, and adopt the polysyllabic and very picturesque dialects of the Pequots or Narragansetts? One transaction would have been about as reasonable as the other. I am of opinion, from former study and recent observation, that the Greeks are Greeks, — that they are the descendants of their fathers. It is characteristic of some theorists, after having adopted a peculiar view, to exaggerate everything that makes in its favor, and not even to see the facts that work against it. I will not charge Fallmerayer with bad faith; but I must think that his Slavonic zeal outran his acuteness and learning.

The Professor's theory has been very well received by the Emperor of Russia, who considers himself the natural head of the Slavonic races. It is said that he has conferred an order of merit on Professor Fallmerayer for his services in *Slavonizing* the Hellenic race. There are some points of sympathy between the Emperor of Russia and the Greeks. The Greek Church is the established Church of the Empire, and at the present moment the Emperor is the enemy of the Turk. But the Greek mind is totally averse from the despotic maxims of the Russian government, and, though a portion of the more fanatical priests may be inclined to favor Russian influence, the more enlightened part of the Greek nation detest it. The Greeks are not hoping to throw off the Turkish yoke from the northern provinces for the sake of putting on the Russian. It is for liberty, and not for slavery, — of which they have had enough, — that they sigh. They like the Emperor as little as they like Fallmerayer, and against him the feeling among the Greeks is one of profound indignation. I would not answer for the Professor's safety in the streets of Athens. In one of the courses of lectures which I attended in the University of Athens, the Professor of History — a very eloquent man, as well as a somewhat fiery Greek — took this subject up. His audience consisted of about two hundred young men, from every part of Greece. His indignant comments on the learned German — that notorious *Μισέλλην* (Mis-Hellen), or Greek-

hater, as he stigmatized him — were received by his hearers with a profound sensation. They sat with expanded nostrils and flashing eyes, — a splendid illustration of the old Hellenic spirit roused to fury by the charge of barbarian descent. "It is true," said the eloquent Professor, "that the tide of barbarian invaders poured down like a deluge upon Hellas, filling with its surging floods our beautiful plains, our fertile valleys. The Greeks fled to their walled towns and mountain fastnesses. By and by the waters subsided, and the soil of Hellas reappeared. The former inhabitants descended from the mountains, as the tide receded; resumed their ancient lands, and rebuilt their ruined habitations; and, the reign of the barbarians over, Hellas was herself again." Three or four rounds of applause followed the close of the lecture of Professor Manouses, in which I very heartily joined. I could not help thinking afterwards, what a singular comment on the German anti-Hellenic theory was presented by this scene, — a Greek Professor in a Greek University lecturing to two hundred Greeks in the Greek language, to prove that the Greeks were Greeks, and not Slavonians.

LECTURE IV.

GREECE CHRISTIANIZED. — ST. CHRYSOSTOM. — THE EASTERN CHURCH.

In the last Lecture some notices were given of the course of Hellenic history down to the time when the schools were closed in the sixth century, by order of Justinian. The idle endeavor of Julian to restore the falling structure of heathenism, by making himself a reformer of its abuses, was briefly alluded to, with a slight sketch of his literary character and works given, and a glance at some of his contemporaries. A few general reflections were also ventured on the general preparation of the Greek mind for the reception of Christianity, and on those outward circumstances in the condition of the times which opened the hearts and minds of the people — the middle and the literary classes — to the truths it revealed, reaching beyond this world to a future state of being, which philosophy had hoped for and reasoned out, but which only the life, teachings, death, and resurrection of Christ had clothed with certainty.

In the external condition of Greece, we have seen the decay and downfall of her free political institutions. We have seen her pass from the full flush and glory of her period of creative and original literature into the era of scientific accumulation. We have seen her schools established in the great capitals of the Eastern world, and her subtile intellect training the mind of imperial Rome. We have followed the barbarian invaders, the Gauls at an early period, the Goths, the Huns, sweeping stormily and destructively over her embellished cities and cultivated plains; and we have watched

the more multitudinous hosts of Slavonic warriors and herdsmen pouring into the regions deserted by a shrinking population, taking possession of the lands left without an owner, changing even the names which had come down from the remotest times, and, after two or three centuries, gradually receding before the increasing number of the Greek people, leaving a few settlements behind them, and the traces of their temporary possession in the names of towns, rivers, hills, and plains. From this period we now pass into that of the proper Byzantine Empire; but before taking up this part of my subject, I must ask your indulgence for dwelling a few moments on the development of Christianity and of Christian literature.

The details of the early progress of Christianity in Greece, after the apostolic age, are shrouded in the deepest obscurity. But the importance which the Christian communities have already assumed, when they begin in the last half of the second century to excite attention, clearly shows that from the time of Paul there had been an unbroken growth, which, though too quiet to create an interest in contemporary writers, yet gradually extended the influence of the new religion over the principal parts of Greece. In the course of the first and second centuries, small Christian societies appear to have established themselves in the chief cities, and to have gradually gained stability by a regular internal organization. Churches had been planted in Thessalonica, Larissa, Athens, Corinth, Sparta, and on the islands of Crete and Cyprus, before the differences between the followers of the old and of the new faith resulted in settled hostility. There is, however, mention made of a circular of Antoninus Pius, addressed to the states of Greece, whose object was to put an end to the persecutions of the Christians by the Pagans. About this time the first Grecian martyrs, Dionysius and Publius, appear to have been put to death. The death of the latter is said to have very nearly caused the dispersion of the church at Athens. In the following century, though the progress of Christianity had still been comparatively small, there appear to have been held conventions, or councils

of members of the different churches, to deliberate on the common interests of the whole body. The persecutions of Decius and Diocletian probably did not much affect Greece; for only a few names of martyrs belonging to Corinth and Athens are mentioned, in contrast with the long lists of those who suffered at Alexandria, Cæsarea, Smyrna, Antioch, Rome, Crete, and Cyprus, — a fact which speaks well of the tolerant and kindly feelings of the Greeks towards one another. The uproars in Egypt were of a later date, and do not affect the general fact of the forbearance and humanity of the Hellenic race in matters of religious opinion.

The local meetings were the precursors of provincial councils, and these again of general councils, to regulate the affairs of the Christian communities. It is surprising how soon they became thoroughly organized, commanded large pecuniary resources, and were able to stand up, if need were, against the whole power of the Emperors. The Bishops, properly so called, appear to have succeeded the Apostles, with an influence dependent more upon their characters than upon any well-defined and legalized powers. However appointed originally, the appointment would seem to have been ratified by a popular vote. "The presbyters," says Milman, "would be the regular and perpetual expositors of the Christian law, the reciters of the life, the doctrines, the death, the resurrection of Christ; till the Gospels were written, and generally received, they would be the living evangelists, the oral scriptures, the spoken gospels." The deacons were an inferior order, and exercised a purely administrative office. Christianity had at first no strictly sacerdotal functionaries; but by degrees the more eminent teachers were separated from the rest of the community. "It was the Christian who then sanctified the function," says an elegant writer, "afterwards the function sanctified the man"; and by degrees the deacons, presbyters, and bishops became a sacred class. The sacerdotal principle once established, these ranks of the hierarchy formed themselves into a kind of religious aristocracy, and, assuming titles from the Jew-

ish and even Pagan systems, became a priestly caste, with an asserted right of nearer approach to the Deity, "in a religion," to borrow the words of an Episcopal writer, "which, in its primary institution, acknowledged only one Mediator between earth and heaven." Early in the third century, the official character of the bishops was recognized at the imperial court, and churches began to rise in different parts of the Empire. With these changes in the outward and worldly relations of Christianity, the enthusiasm which had animated its earlier days became less fervent, and the tone of feeling among the rich and powerful members of the Christian communities more worldly. At the same time paganism was growing more serious. The loose manners of those who had abandoned all earnest convictions on religious subjects were checked by the purer morality of the Christians; so that heathenism itself became, by contact with Christianity, in a certain degree Christianized, in the characters of its most respectable supporters, like Julian, Libanius, and many of the rhetorical and philosophical teachers in the schools of Alexandria and Athens.

Allusion has already been made to the controversies which early distracted the peace of the Church. I would not be understood to treat with disrespect the questions which so profoundly agitated the minds of men in those ages; but I think it must be admitted by candid inquirers that in all times the Church has been divided very much more as to what a man ought to think, than as to what he ought to do to be saved; while Christ and the Apostles were at pains to answer the latter question, without apparently concerning themselves so much about the former. Love to man and love to God, repentance for sin, the government of the passions, and the consecration of the whole being to the high service of God and man, — these duties, sanctioned by the manifestations of a divine power exercised by the Lord, and accompanied by the authoritative declaration from Heaven that a day of judgment is coming, and a future state of retribution is to follow this mortal scene, are the topics of the New Testament; — but the questions

on which the early Christians split were, whether the Son was homoöusian with the Father; whether he was homoiousian; whether the Holy Spirit proceeded from both, or from one; and the like. Heresy of opinion on such questions, which, as one of the Roman theologians pathetically complained, could not be stated in the Latin tongue, was much more intensely opposed than heresy of conduct; and strangely enough, it was thought then — perhaps the mistake has not been wholly corrected now — that councils had power to bring these debates to an authoritative settlement, binding on the consciences of all; that banishment was a remedy for difference of belief; that the doubter ought to be satisfied by the vote of a majority; that metaphysical enigmas could be solved by dogmatic decisions one way, and then differently solved by dogmatic decisions another way. It is not surprising that the subtilty of the Greek intellect, so prone to wire-drawn speculations long before it began to exercise itself on Christianity, should have started these questions; but it is surprising that the logical acuteness for which it was equally distinguished did not see the practical absurdity of such violent proceedings. Both parties, the Arians as well as the Orthodox, were alike in this matter; both resorted to synodical majorities, imperial influence, deposition, and exile, as means of establishing their own creeds.

It would not be to my purpose to enter in detail into the action of the councils, œcumenical or local, by which, after many fluctuations and divisions, and with many protests on the part of dissenting bodies, the leading articles of the creed of the Greek Church, and, down to the separation between Constantinople and Rome, of the entire Christian world, were established. The most important subject of debate involved the belief in the doctrine of the Trinity, which, in one form or another, has been the fundamental dogma of the Church, from the time when Arius and Alexander joined issue before the synod of Libyan and Egyptian bishops at the beginning of the fourth century, exhibiting a spectacle not very edifying on

either side. A little later, when Constantine called the general council at Nicæa (A. D. 325), in which three hundred bishops undertook to settle the faith of the world, Athanasius was again victorious; Arius was anathematized, and his works were ordered to be burned.

Athanasius is perhaps the one theological thinker who has exercised the deepest influence on opinion, both in ancient and in modern times. Born in Alexandria, and educated by Bishop Alexander for the Christian ministry, he became the friend and biographer of St. Anthony, the founder of the monastic system. He was a member of the council of Nicæa, took a leading part in the arguments against Arianism, assisted in drawing up the creed, and the next year, on the death of his friend and patron, Alexander, was promoted to the vacant see. Troubles soon broke out. He refused to obey the imperial command which required him to restore Arius, who had been banished after the condemnation of his doctrines by the council at Nicæa; and so the Emperor called him proud, turbulent, obstinate, and intractable. He was accused of treason, of licentiousness, of sacrilege, of murder,—all which charges were disproved. Yet a council summoned at Tyre in the Arian interest, by an act of flagrant injustice, decreed that he should be deposed. He was replaced by Constantine II.; but at another council held at Antioch, the Arians a second time accomplished his overthrow. He fled to Rome, from the assaults of Gregory the Cappadocian; at Rome another council restored him to the episcopal chair; and the decision of the Roman council was confirmed by the council of Sardica. On the death of the Cappadocian, Athanasius returned to Alexandria. He was again condemned by the council of Arles, and by that of Milan, the imperial authority being employed against him; and his supporters were banished. From Alexandria he now fled to the Egyptian deserts, and the famous George of Cappadocia took his vacant seat. Among the monks of Egypt, he employed himself in writing theological works; and it is a singular fact that he was indebted for his recall to the Emperor

Julian the Apostate. But before long the restorer of heathenism found the zeal and dauntless courage of Athanasius such obstacles in his way, that he banished him from Egypt, and, in a letter still extant, threatened the Prefect with a heavy fine unless the sentence were carried into instant execution. The death of Julian brought him back to Alexandria; but in the reign of Valens he was a fifth time driven into banishment. In a few months he was again recalled, and remained unmolested until his death, in 373, having held the primacy forty-six years; having, by a singular good fortune, been able to disprove every accusation against his character, and having succeeded in establishing the doctrines for which he had so often hazarded his peace, if not his life. He was a man of unsurpassed vigor and courage, but wanting in the gentleness which conciliates affection. He was dogmatic in the highest degree, and, where dogmas were in question, a remorseless, though a perfectly conscientious tyrant. Not content with holding his own opinions, he insisted on forcing them upon others. In the Church Militant he was a gallant soldier; but I think, if we try him by the standard of the New Testament, we shall find him wanting in some of those less shining, but more essential, qualities of character which the teachings of Jesus are fitted and intended to produce. His works are numerous, and of much importance, as exhibiting the tendency of Christian sentiment at this period.

The sway acquired by the Church over belief and conduct increased with the enlargement of its temporal boundaries. The influence of great names and formal creeds strengthened the direct control of the hierarchy over the hopes and the terrors of men. One after another, auricular confession, excommunication, anathema, as well as an increasing share in the direction of civil affairs, invested the Church with a mysterious and awful power, which the private citizens first, then the nobles, and, finally, princes themselves, lacked the courage to confront. This tremendous concentration of power was perhaps needful to carry the institutions of Christianity securely

through the storms of the Middle Ages; but still we cannot help regretting that so much of the worldly spirit blended with the pure elements of our religion, that the secular arm was so often invoked to execute unhallowed purposes, and that so many deeds of violence and blood stain the pages of Christian history.

But the secular and controversial aspects of this period are much less attractive than the practical application of the Christian religion to daily life, and the development of Christian eloquence from the sacred chair. The public teaching of the Christian fathers has much that is admirable. Men felt, in listening to them, that not their worldly prosperity, but their eternal salvation, was the prize to be won; and they hung upon their words with a trembling anxiety that broke out in sighs, tears, ejaculations, and raptures. Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Basilius, and Johannes Chrysostomus are the names which readily occur as those of the most eminent leaders in this department of Christian letters. All these great men were distinguished for their learning, as well as for their ability and virtue. The critical studies of Origen were highly esteemed; though their results lose much of their value, comparatively, from his allegorical style of interpretation. He was the most voluminous of authors, if it be true, as reported, that he wrote six thousand books; but the octavo edition of his works contains only fifteen volumes, — a very small portion of the whole. The opinions of this celebrated father, in the time of the controversy between the Orthodox and the Arians, were severely handled; and not only were they condemned in the second œcumenical council, but the question of his salvation was seriously argued in the following ages by the Greek theologians. A book was published in Paris on this subject, in 1629, by Stephen Binet, in which the principal writers who had discussed the question are introduced, and one of them, who had pronounced against Origen, is represented as proposing to go down into the infernal regions to see with his own eyes what had become of him.

Johannes Chrysostomus, or the *golden-mouthed*, was born in the middle of the fourth century. Libanius, as I mentioned in speaking of that distinguished scholar, taught him eloquence, and said he should have desired to see him his own successor in his school, had not the Christians stolen him. He is said to have retired to a cavern, and there to have committed the whole Bible to memory. His great success as a preacher led to his appointment as Archbishop of Constantinople; but he dealt with the vices of the capital so unsparingly, that he was soon surrounded by enemies, at the head of whom was the Empress Eudocia. He deposed thirteen bishops in Asia Minor for simony, which did not add to his popularity with the higher orders of the clergy. He was accused of heresy, this being the most convenient charge to bring against an ecclesiastic whom it was desirable to ruin. He was deposed by a council at Chalcedon, but was hastily recalled by the Empress, who was frightened by an earthquake, which the people believed to have been sent as a punishment of the city for his banishment. Two months later he was again exiled on account of his sermon upon the silver statue of the Empress. From this exile he never returned. He died in consequence of the fatigue to which he was subjected in being removed to Pontus, that he might be farther from the capital, where his name was still held in reverence by the people. His last words were, "Glory to God for all things." His followers at Constantinople separated from the Church, and for more than thirty years refused to acknowledge his successors, returning to the communion only when Theodosius II. brought back his bones to Constantinople, where they were received with distinguished honors, the Emperor himself imploring the pardon of Heaven for the offences of his parents. Chrysostom was a voluminous author, and a great part of his writings have been preserved. His powers as a preacher were extraordinary, and many have ranked him as an orator with Demosthenes and Cicero. "We cannot fail," says a good judge, "to admire the power of his language in expressing moral indignation, and to sympathize

with the ardent love of all that is good and noble, the fervent piety, and the absorbing faith in the Christian revelation, which pervade his writings." His faults are too great diffuseness, and an excessive love of metaphor and ornament. He often repelled with indignation the applause with which his sermons were greeted, exclaiming, "The place where you are is no theatre, nor are you now sitting to gaze upon actors."

It would be out of proportion to the general brevity of these sketches, were I to enter at large on the literary or other merits of this most distinguished and admirable man; but having in a former Lecture spoken of the writings of the eminent Apostate, I have thought it might serve to complete the outline of the literary picture of the times, were I to give a few characteristic illustrations, before quitting this subject, from a Christian of still greater eminence.

The Homilies of St. Chrysostom were undoubtedly well suited to the purpose for which they were composed, — living addresses to the congregations of a large and luxurious capital, on matters of conduct, moral ideas, and religious duties. In passages they breathe an admirable eloquence, and manifest a sobriety of Scriptural interpretation and a practical sense in Scriptural application which contrast very favorably with the declamations of many of his followers. In style they are excellent, without being fastidiously classical; being composed in such a manner as neither to transcend the comprehension of common hearers nor to shock the tastes of the educated. But if we judge them as works of art, as we would criticise an oration of Demosthenes or Cicero, we cannot hesitate to place their author far below those prime masters of eloquence. There is a great accumulation of topics which have a very remote connection, if any, with the text or the subject which he proposes to discuss. Whatever is in any way suggested by the words of the text, he readily admits into the discourse. In the series of Homilies, addressed to the people of Antioch, on the *Statues*, that is, on the occasion of the statues of the Emperor and Empress being pulled down

by the mob, there is one on the text from Timothy, "Use a little wine for thy stomach's sake, and thine often infirmities." The address opens with several pages of very striking reflections on the reading of the Scriptures, "which is not a meadow only, but a paradise; for the flowers here have not mere fragrance only, but fruit too, capable of nourishing the soul." Then he comes to the text, "which, though simple and obvious, affords the means of abundant riches, and openings toward the highest wisdom." Two or three pages of observations on the duty not to listen slothfully then follow. The first inquiry suggested by the text is, "Why did God permit a man like Timothy to fall into such a constant and prolonged state of infirmity, especially as he was one intrusted with public affairs?" and the second is, "Why, since the Apostles were gifted with miraculous powers, did not Timothy cure himself? or why did not Paul cure him, instead of writing him to take refuge in the healing virtue of wine?" "Not," says the preacher, "that to drink wine is shameful. God forbid! For such precepts belong to heretics." Before proceeding to solve these questions, he has a word to say of the virtue of Timothy, and the solicitude of Paul. The former is shown by the fact that he was not naturally so infirm a person, but had destroyed the strength of his stomach by fasting and water-drinking. On this subject he enlarges with admirable vigor, showing that even St. Paul himself, after he had been rapt into the third heaven, and transported to Paradise, still feared lest he should be a castaway. "Seeing these things, Timothy fortified himself on every side; for he knew that youth is an age of difficulty, that it is unstable, easily deceived, very apt to slip, and requires an exceedingly strong bridle. It is indeed a sort of combustible pile, easily catching anything from without, and quickly kindled, and for that reason he took care to smother it on all sides, and strove to abate the flame in every way. The steed that was bridled with difficulty, and hardly subject to the rein, he curbed with much vehemence, until he had tamed him of his wanton tricks, until he had made him obedient, and de-

livered him, under entire control, into the hands of that reason which was to guide him." But there is another side of the subject not to be omitted, and that is the apparent encouragement the text holds out to drinking wine too freely. On this point he says that the Apostle, in writing to Timothy, "prescribes the measure and limit of wine-drinking for us; bidding him drink just so much as would correct disorder,—as would bring health to the body, and not another disease." Some of his ideas on this subject would not pass unchallenged now. I quote them partly to show that the same question which is agitating society at this moment—the duty of total abstinence from wine—was discussed in the early Christian churches, and that there was the same division of opinion among their members which we notice at this day among ourselves. St. Chrysostom was rigidly temperate; but with such a platform as he lays down, it is doubtful whether he would command a very large popular vote. "Let us guard, then, against a want of moderation on either side, and let us take care of the health of the body, at the same time that we prune away its luxurious propensities. . . . . Wine maketh glad the heart of man; but thou makest it a matter for sadness. . . . . It is the best medicine when it has the best moderation to direct it. The passage before us is useful also against the heretics, who speak evil of God's creatures; for if it had been among the number of things forbidden, Paul would not have permitted it, nor would have said it was to be used. And not only against the heretics, but against the simple ones of our brethren, who, when they see any persons disgracing themselves by drunkenness, instead of reproving such, blame the fruit given them of God, and say, Let there be no wine. We would say then, in answer to such, Let there be no drunkenness; for wine is the work of God, but drunkenness is the work of the Devil. Wine maketh not drunkenness, but intemperance produceth it. Do not accuse that which is the workmanship of God, but accuse the madness of a fellow-mortal."

In the following paragraph he paints the drunkard in the

most startling colors: "The drunkard is a living corpse. Drunkenness is a demon self-chosen, a disease without excuse, an overthrow that admits of no apology, — a common shame to our kind. The drunken man is not only useless in our assemblies, and in all public and private affairs; but in his mere aspect and breath he is the most loathsome and disgusting of all things. And the crown of these evils is, that this disease makes heaven inaccessible to drunkards, and does not suffer them to win eternal blessedness; for besides the shame attending on those who labor under it here, a grievous punishment is also awaiting them there." Under the head, "Of the Reasons why God permitted such a Saint as Timothy to fall into Disease," he advances to the general consideration of the sufferings and calamities to which good men are exposed. Eight reasons are given in order; and then these eight reasons are established from the Scriptures, after which two supplementary reasons are added, with their several illustrations. The case of Job is naturally enough suggested, in speaking of the misfortunes of good men. He shows that the temptations of affliction are to be resisted, and patience to be gained by trial; that no calamity is an excuse for blasphemy, and that blasphemers are to be publicly rebuked, and even beaten; and then the whole is applied to the city of Antioch under her afflictions.

I think we have in this Homily a fair illustration, not only of the discursive character of Chrysostom's mind, but of the subtilty and adroitness which so strongly mark the Greek intellect in general. I am tempted to quote a few sentences from other Homilies, to exhibit the more dignified style of thinking which was also natural to his genius. In the ninth Homily to the people of Antioch, on the text, "The heavens declare the glory of God," he thus enlarges: "How then, tell me, do they declare it? Voice they have none; mouth they possess not; no tongue is theirs; how then do they declare it? By means of the spectacle itself. For when thou seest the beauty, the magnitude, the height, the position, the form, the stability during so long a time, hearing, as it were, a voice, and in-

structed by the spectacle, thou adorest Him who created so fair and admirable a body. The heavens are silent; but the sight of them utters a voice clearer than a trumpet's sound." This is followed by a passage, equally admirable, on the universality of the teachings of the heavens, suggested by the words, "There is no speech nor language where their voice is not heard."

One of the consequences of the riot at Antioch was the imperial decree degrading the city from her rank as a metropolis. In suggesting consolations to the Christians there, he indulges in the following beautiful and striking vein of reflection. "Dost thou grieve that the dignity of the city is taken away? Learn what the dignity of a city is; and then shalt thou clearly know, that, if the inhabitants do not betray it, no one else will be able to take away the dignity of a city. Not, then, that this is a metropolis; not that it contains large and beautiful edifices; not its having many columns, and spacious porticos and walks; not its being named in proclamations before other cities; — but the virtue and piety of those who dwell therein, — *these* are a city's dignity and ornament and defence; since, if these are not found in it, it is more worthless than all things, though it enjoy honor ten thousand fold from emperors. Dost thou wish to hear the dignity of thy city? Dost thou wish to know its ancestral honors? I will tell it exactly; not only that thou mayst know, but that thou mayst also emulate. What, then, is the dignity of this city of ours? *And the disciples were called Christians first in Antioch.* This dignity none of the cities throughout the world possesses, not even the city of Romulus herself." The whole of this Homily, the seventeenth to the people of Antioch, is excellent, and contains many other passages I have marked for reference, equally characteristic of the author's highest style of thought, and equally worthy of the fame of the greatest Christian preacher of antiquity.

Chrysostom, besides being a very eloquent preacher, was plain-spoken to a degree we seldom witness at present. It was

the fashion for the ladies, in those times, to paint the face and dye the eyebrows. He advises the husband of such a one "to talk to her by reflecting on neighbors who do the same. . . . . Ask her if she wishes to look young, and tell her this is the quickest way to look old. Finally, come down upon her with the warnings of Scripture. You may speak once and again, and she is invincible, but never desist; be always amiable and bland, but still persevere. It is worth putting every engine in motion; if you succeed, you will no more see lips stained with vermilion, a mouth like that of a bear reeking with gore, nor eyebrows blackened as from a sooty kettle, nor cheeks plastered like whited sepulchres." He berates the ladies for scolding their servants, and even beating them. On the text, "Let all clamor be put away," he says: "Above all things, let women hear this; for it treats of their habitual practice. When they are exasperated with their damsels, the whole house reechoes to the cry; and should the house adjoin the street, every passer-by overhears the screaming mistress and the shrieking maid. 'What can be the matter?' bursts from every mouth. 'It is Madam Such-a-one, beating her maid.'" Of a lady wearing ear-rings he exclaims: "Yes, in one tip of her little ear she will suspend a ring that might have paid for the food of ten thousand poor Christians." Yet Chrysostom was the preacher whom people most delighted to listen to. If they found another in the chair when they expected to hear him, the poor gentleman who supplied his place was received with hooting and tumult; and on one occasion the Bishop of Galatia, a gray-headed ecclesiastic, on a visit to Chrysostom, and invited by him to give what is now called a labor of love, was obliged to abandon the attempt. The more severe he was, the better they liked him. He carried all before him; he captivated man and woman, Gentile and Christian; and whenever he preached, and whatever his subject, loud applauses welcomed his golden sentences. "The excessive throng compelled him to deviate from the usual practice of preaching from the steps of the altar. He was to be seen, worn, attenuated,

and sallow, sitting in the reader's desk, nearly in the centre of the church, while the people with open mouth caught up his words, insatiably longing for more, and pressed and crushed each other to imbibe more closely the spell of his eloquence."

Though himself unmarried, and in fact, as appears from one of his works, an advocate of universal celibacy, even sneering at those who urged against him the natural consequence of the disappearance of the race under such a system, yet he occasionally gave good advice to parents on the marriage of their children, and to married persons on their demeanor towards each other; evidently despairing of seeing his theory adopted, and hoping only to mitigate a chronic and epidemic evil. Wealthy matches, great establishments, seem to have been the fashion at Constantinople, as well as in other places and times. "Even without a dowry," exclaims the preacher, "women abound with pride and are prone to vain-glory; but with such an accession, how are they to be borne? The object of marriage is not to fill our homes with war and battle; and yet how many, after contracting rich alliances, have daily quarrels over their tables!" And then the ladies clapped their white hands. In another place he favors his hearers with a curtain lecture, picked up from some Mrs. Caudle of Byzantium. Madam says to her husband: "Neighbor So-and-so is a low fellow, and his father and mother before him were vulgar. But he makes a great noise in the world, and has risen to fortune. His wife is covered with gold, drives white mules, goes where she likes, with handsome maids and plenty of slaves; while you, you coward, you good-for-nothing, you booby, are dozing away in your cell, unhappy woman that I am." "A wife," says he, "should not say such things; but if she does, her husband had better not flog her, but smooth her down, considering that she is a little out of sorts." Dress came in for a share in the good preacher's anathemas, especially shoes, on which the gentry of Constantinople and Antioch expended a great deal of care and money. "Ships are built, rowers and steersmen collected, sails unfurled, and ocean fur-

rowed, wife, children, country are abandoned, and the soul of the merchant hazarded to the waves, — and all that you may get threads of silk to embroider your shoes and beautify the upper-leather. How can he have heavenly ideas who is wise about the texture of the silk, the delicacy of its color, the ivy tint which results from the due disposition of the threads? No; his soul is forever in the mire, while he goes on tiptoe through the agora. He begets to himself sorrow and despair, lest in winter he slip into the mud, and in summer shuffle in the dust. O my friend, how canst thou be so troubled about thy shoes? Learn their true utility. Shoes were designed for trampling on the filth and unseemliness of the pavement. If this will not suffice thee, take them up and hang them round thy neck, or stick them on thy head."

We have, from many sources, very minute accounts of the passion of the people for the low representations in the theatres and the games of the hippodrome. The madness for these entertainments, both according to Pagan authors, like Julian, who, heathen as he was, took a rational view of their demoralizing effects, and the sermons of the Christian clergy, reached a point difficult to conceive in the present age. "Thither," says Chrysostom, "the whole city removes; and homes and agora are evacuated for the frantic exhibition. Not the hippodrome only, but houses, garrets, roofs, and overhanging hills are all preoccupied. No infirmity checks the insatiable passion; but aged men, in dishonor of their gray hairs, rush more eagerly thither than youths in their prime. When attending our churches, they grow sick and weary and listless; they complain that there is no room, that they are suffocated, and the like; but in the hippodrome they bear to be trampled on and pushed and squeezed with intolerable violence; yes, in the midst of ten thousand worse annoyances, they luxuriate as upon a grassy lawn."

It would be easy to accumulate to almost any extent the characteristic touches by which the eloquent preacher presents to us the living features of the age. We can easily imagine

him, with his slight and meagre form, his large and well-proportioned head, his hollow cheeks, and sunken but gleaming eyes,—for so he is described by his biographers,—standing before his crowding audiences, and, while he cannot, as he confesses, wholly repress the human feeling of gratification in the welcomes and plaudits with which he is hailed, yet dealing with the faults and vices of the times with sacred fervor and overpowering eloquence. Many passages in his Homilies cannot now be read without a thrill of pleasure in the copiousness and force of the language, the grandeur of the imagery, and the sublime purity of the religious sentiment.

From the glimpses of the audiences we have had, it will be seen that the staid, quiet demeanor now required by the decorum of the church was not known, or, if known, was seldom observed. The clamorous expression of the feeling of the moment, whether applause or censure, was transferred from the theatre, the public assembly, and the courts of law, to the church; and, on the other hand, the preacher was not bound to that grave and solemn style of discourse which is now the recognized characteristic of pulpit eloquence. Satirical descriptions of foibles or follies, as well as terrific denunciations of crime, direct personal attacks on fashions in dress and other matters equally local and temporary, and probably the indication of individual offenders, as well as general reproof of the errors of society at large, it was not only allowable, but imperative, to introduce into the preaching of the word of God. I find in no contemporary heathen literature such intellectual power and moral earnestness as in these Homilies. The breath of Almighty God had swept over the stagnant surface of the human mind, and stirred up its depths to a fresh spiritual life. The awful truths of revelation, the tremendous consequences of sin, the beauty and tenderness of a Saviour's love to fallen men, inspired the preacher with a strain of eloquence to which the schools of Athens and Alexandria were strangers.

I have thus endeavored to point out the characteristics which marked the two tendencies of the Greek mind in the

first centuries of our era; — the heathen tendency, which was only a prolonged echo from former ages, and was gradually growing fainter and fainter; and the new Christian tone, which sounds out from the earlier preachers of the faith. I have not hesitated to give my own impressions of the errors and the bad temper of the latter, or of the good to be found in the former. For I have no horror of an honest heathen, who lives and acts according to the light that is given him; nor have I an unqualified liking for a Christian, who, turning away from the supernatural light of the Scriptures, follows the guidance of his own passions, his pride, his arrogance, his love of power over his fellows, under the false pretence of zeal for the purity of the Christian faith.

I have said a few words as to the gradual formation of a priestly order, and the final and complete organization of the Church. It would, perhaps, be treading on forbidden ground to touch upon the question of the asserted supremacy of one or another head of the Christian world. Historically viewed, I suppose there can be little doubt that, at the beginning, there was no one head. The bishops exercised their power quite independently, except so far as they in the course of time admitted the authority of synods and councils. The gradual manner in which the Bishop of Rome gathered into his own person the supreme authority over the spiritual, and for a long period over the temporal, affairs of the nations that acknowledged him, it belongs not to this place or to my subject to trace. Of the Eastern Church, the Patriarch of Constantinople finally rose to be the acknowledged head, and so continued down to modern times. At the present moment he is *de facto* only the spiritual ruler of one of the three divisions into which that community is separated. The Russian Church has its independent organization. The Church in the kingdom of Greece has been, since 1843, wholly liberated from the patriarchal throne at Constantinople, and is governed by the Holy Synod of Bishops, the constitution of which will be hereafter explained. King Otho is the head of the Church only in

a political sense. The relation sustained by the royal family to the national Church is a singular one. The king is a Romanist, with a Roman Catholic chaplain; the queen is a Protestant, with a Protestant chaplain; and, if they should have a son and heir, which most unfortunately for the country they have not as yet, it is required by the Constitution that he shall be educated according to the faith of the orthodox Oriental Church.

The worship of the primitive churches appears to have been of the most simple kind, and the forms to have been regulated wholly by the several societies, according to their taste or convenience. Something like a uniform system began to be thought suitable for the general advantage of the Christian body. The first places of worship were the homes of the disciples; and in times of persecution, caves, catacombs, and other secret spots were resorted to for security, — from which the use of candles, both in the Greek and in the Latin Church, undoubtedly originated. When particular buildings were established for religious services, they were called *προσευκτήρια*, houses of prayer, or *κυριακά*, homes of the Lord, from which last term the Scottish word *kirk* and the English *church* are derived. There was no distinction of dress to mark the leaders in the churches until after the time of Constantine. The elaborate and costly robes now worn by the bishops and patriarchs, and on great festivals by the inferior clergy of the Greek Church, were all invented after the connection of the Church with the State, when she became almost a coordinate branch of the imperial power. It was a long time before the technical terms in which the articles of belief are expressed were devised. The doctrine of the Trinity, the most important dogma in the history of the earlier as well as the later controversies, however it may have been distinctly or indistinctly held by the early Christians, was not clothed in a definite terminology until the middle of the second century, when Theophilus of Antioch, who, having been converted from heathenism to Christianity, became one of the ablest de-

fenders of the new belief against the old, for the first time employed the word *Trias*. It required the labors of seven œcumenical councils, running through nearly five centuries, to work out the formal statements of dogmas which were embodied in the creeds, and which to this day constitute the belief of the Greek and Roman Churches, and, with comparatively unimportant differences, define the leading points of the belief in a vast majority of the Protestant communions.

The three elementary forms of public service — preaching, or explaining the Christian faith, singing, and prayer — were certainly in use in the days of the Apostles. But there was no written form of liturgy until near the end of the fourth century, when St. Basil, Bishop of Cæsarea, compiled a service, which is still used on some occasions in the Greek Church; and not long afterward Chrysostom composed another, more elaborate and ceremonious. Both of these liturgies are supposed to have undergone numerous alterations, and to have received large additions after the deaths of their compilers. These two, with a third, called the Liturgy of the Presanctified, — from the circumstance of the elements used on the days to which this liturgy was appointed having been consecrated on the previous Sunday, — constitute the general liturgy of the Greek Church down to the present day. The period of their composition or compilation extends from the third to the seventh or eighth century. The chanting of the entire service certainly was not practised in the primitive Church. Yet the early Christians sang hymns, which attracted the notice of Pliny, as appears from his letter to Trajan. "They affirmed," says he, "that their only crime was, that they were accustomed to assemble on a stated day, and to sing a hymn to Christ as to a god."

Among the works of Clemens of Alexandria, towards the end of the second century, is a very interesting composition in three books, called *Pædagogus*, the object of which is to set forth the process of Christian education in a convert to the faith. The *Pædagogus*, or guide, is Christ, who, at the con-

clusion, leads the initiated into the church; and there, as an acknowledgment of the gratitude due for so signal a favor, a hymn is sung in honor of Christ the Saviour. Whether this hymn is the composition of Clemens, or was taken by him from some older collection of sacred poetry used in the churches, is not known; but it undoubtedly represents with sufficient fidelity the general style and character of the earliest sacred poetry of the Christians. It is composed in a light, irregular rhythm, — partly, not wholly, anapæstic, — and somewhat resembling the movement of the pieces which pass under the name of Anacreon. It is mostly filled with ascriptions of honor and glory to the Saviour, and ejaculations of praise, some of which are nobly conceived, and others can be justly appreciated only by one who can free himself from the impressions and prejudices of the moment, and transport himself into the early and rapturous days of the primitive converts. I translate a few verses literally, and line for line.

"Bit of untamed colts,
Wing of unwandering birds,
True helm of infants,
Shepherd of royal lambs,
Thy simple ones,
Thy children, rouse
Holily to praise,
To hymn sincerely,
With lips of innocence,
Christ the children's leader.
King of the saints,
Thou all-subduing Word
Of the Father Most High,
Thou Prince of wisdom,
Support in sorrows,
Joy of the world,
Of mortal race
Jesus — Saviour.
. . .
Footprints of Christ,
Pathway of heaven,
Eternal Word,

Endless Age,
Light everlasting,
Fountain of mercy.

. . .

Let us sing united,
Let us chant with simplicity,
The mighty Son.
A choir of peace,
Let us, the Christ-born,
A people blameless,
Praise in unison the God of Peace."

I had intended to give a sketch of the Greek liturgy now used; but when I came to lay out the subject, I found it would require about ten hours a day, from now until next October, to convey an adequate notion of its variety and extent. There are services for days and for parts of days, for fasts and festivals, for every conceivable moment, occasion, and exigency in human life; there are prayers, hymns, *troparia*, and confessions, more than can be numbered; so that it was the complaint of a member of that Church that it required the labor of a long life to be able to find his place in the services. At first, the impression made upon the stranger in a Greek church is not very edifying or agreeable. The chanting of Scripture, as well as of hymns and *troparia*, and the nasal intonation, so universal, produce a bad effect. One is confused by the succession of genuflections, and the constant changing of places among the officiating priests. The use of pictures, in the old Byzantine style of art, and the reverence with which they are treated, are regarded by many as idolatrous. The answer of the intelligent Greeks is, however, ready, — that the reverence paid to a saint, and expressed in the act of homage to his picture, is not worship, but a natural and reasonable reverence, totally different from the adoration due to the Creator. Most of the pictures that I saw bore so little resemblance to anything in heaven or earth or in the waters under the earth, that it seemed scarcely possible to regard obeisance to them as violating the second commandment of

the Decalogue. The dramatic character of the representation becomes, with a little time and use, not only significant, but impressive; while the earnest demeanor generally characteristic of the worshipping assemblies cannot but fill even a Protestant spectator with respect. Some of the services are marked by a solemnity and grandeur not to be easily forgotten. The burial service, at which I was present more frequently than at any other part of the ritual, seemed to me more appropriate and affecting, more deeply expressive of the awful and tender feelings which crowd upon the heart at the moment of final separation from those who have been with us in life, than any form I have witnessed anywhere else in the world.

There are many things in the Greek ritual undoubtedly objectionable to one who thinks more of substance than of form; but the substance is there too, and it has come down from early, though not the earliest times. It was framed by the most eminent Christian fathers, and in the language spoken by the Apostles. Such a liturgy, with such claims upon our reverence, and at this moment constituting the religious manual of seventy millions of souls, we should be slow to condemn as idolatrous.

LECTURE V.

THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE. — THE LATIN EMPERORS. — THE DUKES OF ATHENS.

Constantine removed the seat of empire from Rome to Constantinople, and inaugurated the latter city with great pomp and ceremony, in A. D. 330. For thirty-four years the newly founded capital was the sole seat of government in the Roman world, down to the death of Jovian. For one hundred and twelve years the Empire was double-headed, — the Eastern Empire having its centre of administration at Constantinople, and the Western at Rome, until Romulus Augustulus closed his inglorious reign, and with it the Western Roman Empire, in A. D. 476. From this time the Roman Empire was the Eastern Empire, living on under the Roman organization and Roman law, and claiming to be Roman in all essential respects, under a series of twenty-eight Emperors, until the accession of Leo III., commonly called the Isaurian, who ascended the throne in the year 717, and reigned twenty-four years. With the reign of this reforming Emperor, the old Roman spirit of the administration was extinguished, and the proper Byzantine period commences. From the close of this reign, in 741, to the conquest of Constantinople by the Western princes, or the termination of the reign of Alexius Ducas, in 1204, forty-three rulers, including three Empresses, — Irene, Zoe, and Theodora, — held the reins of government, for a period of four hundred and sixty-three years. The Latin Emperors, five in number, occupied the throne of Constantinople for fifty-seven years only; when, in 1261, the line of Greek Emperors was restored, in the person of Michael Palæologus. Nine Emperors in suc-

cession (all except one — Joannes Cantacuzenus — belonging to the family of Palæologi) filled the period down to the reign of Constantine XIII., the last of the Palæologi, who closed his reign and his life with the fall of the Byzantine Empire in 1453, when Mahomet II., entering the city of Constantinople over the body of the slaughtered Emperor, planted the crescent on the dome of St. Sophia. For the long period of more than eleven centuries Constantinople had been the great Christian capital of the East; and now, for four hundred years, mosque, minaret, and crescent have supplanted the emblems of the Christian faith, and the Patriarch of the Orthodox Eastern Church has depended, for his confirmation upon the episcopal throne of the ancient capital of his religion, on the despotic will of the follower of Mahomet the Impostor.

The ancient city of Byzantium was founded by Megarian colonists, in the seventh century before Christ. It was built on a promontory facing the waters of the Bosporus and the shores of Asia; and certainly no city in the world can surpass it in the beauty of its position, its facilities for commerce, or the picturesqueness of the scenery that surrounds it. It is washed on the east by the Bosporus, on the north by the Golden Horn, which derived its name from the rich traffic supplied by the fisheries at a very early period. The harbor is seven miles in length, and the water, scarcely affected by tides, is deep enough to float vessels of the largest size. It was, and is, the key to the Euxine and the Ægean Seas, and its possession was an object of eager rivalry among the most powerful nations of antiquity. Philip of Macedonia, no less than Nicholas of Russia, made every effort to bring it under his power, and was prevented only by the energetic resistance of Demosthenes, for which the people of Byzantium decreed, in honor of the Athenians, a statue and a golden crown. In the wars of the Romans, Byzantium suffered her full share of disasters, in sieges, slaughters, demolition of her walls, and changes of her political institutions. But the inhabitants of this half-Oriental city appear to have enjoyed no very high

reputation for morals or valor. They are represented as passing their time in idle gossip, tippling wine in taverns, and so inordinately addicted to tunny-fish that their whole bodies became mucilaginous and glutinous. One of the Byzantine demagogues, when asked what the law enjoined, replied, "Whatever I please," — words that contain the germ of a celebrated modern theory.

When Constantine determined to place his new capital in this city, he greatly enlarged its boundaries, and, to make it in all respects another Rome, took in the seven hills, which rise one above another, and are covered by the city. From his time it has borne the name of Constantinopolis — Constantinople — in the languages of Europe, Constanyi in the Arabic, and in the Turkish, Stamboul, which is formed from the Greek words εἰς τὴν πόλιν, *into* or *in the city*. The line of the walls across the peninsula was marked by the Emperor at the head of a procession. A splendid exhibition of chariot games was given in the hippodrome, after which the Emperor was drawn in a magnificent car through the city, bearing a golden statue of Fortune in his hand, surrounded by his guards arrayed in festal robes, and carrying lighted torches. The ceremonies of inauguration lasted forty days. The walls were not completed until the reign of Constantius; they were overthrown by an earthquake at the beginning of the fifth century; and the dilapidated walls which still exist, running from the Sea of Marmora to the harbor, are the remains of the double line reconstructed in 447, with rectangular flanking towers at short intervals. The circuit of the city was about thirteen miles. In this new capital, and under the influences of Orientalism, easily traceable at all times in the history of the city, a new style of architecture arose, of which the cupola was the most characteristic feature. Fourteen churches, fourteen palaces, several arches, and eight public baths were built by the founder. The ancient Temple of Peace was changed into the first Church of St. Sophia, and the Church of the Twelve Apostles was completed shortly before the death of Constan-

tine. In the reign of Theodosius II., painting, sculpture, and architecture were encouraged; and in the reign of Justinian, the Byzantine arts reached their highest degree of development. The Church of St. Sophia, which had been twice destroyed by fire, was rebuilt with increased magnificence, and stands to this day the most extraordinary specimen of Byzantine architecture. Among the great works of the Greek Emperors, still in part remaining, are two subterranean structures, intended as reservoirs for water in case of siege, — one now called, from its extensive colonnades, the "Palace of the Thousand and one Pillars," but no longer used for its original purpose; the other called the "Subterranean Palace," a kind of lake with an arched roof, supported by three hundred and thirty-six marble pillars. The Hippodrome, which was originally surrounded by splendid buildings and crowded with statues and obelisks, is now only an open space, with a single obelisk covered with hieroglyphics, and a wreathed column of bronze, which in ancient times bore the golden tripod at Delphi, and was afterwards transported to Constantinople. The place is called the At Midan, and is memorable in recent history for the slaughter of the janizaries, whose quarters were in buildings contiguous to it. These few monuments are almost all that remain of the ancient Constantinople. The present city, though occupying the same site and enclosing these monuments within its circuit, is in all its characteristic features a Turkish or Oriental town. Constantinople underwent many sieges, and was several times captured during the Byzantine period, and before its occupation by the Latin Emperors. From 616 to 626 Chosroes lay before it with his Persian and Avar host. The Arabs laid siege to it for the first time in the last half of the same century, but were baffled by the strength of the walls, and the terrific and destructive effect of the Greek fire, which is said to have caused the slaughter of thirty thousand men. In the beginning of the next century, they made a second attempt, with no better fortune. The Russians had their eye upon Constantinople much earlier than the reign of

Catharine. Between 865 and 1043, they made four expeditions, in the hope of gaining possession of the capital, but without success. In 1204, as I have already stated in speaking of the great historical crises of the Empire, the Latins stormed and pillaged the imperial city. In 1422 it was besieged by Amurath II., and finally captured, in 1453, by Mahomet II. What is to be the next turn for the wheel of its fortunes will perhaps be decided before many months have passed.

The extracts read, in the last Lecture, from the Homilies of St. Chrysostom, will have given some characteristic features of Byzantine society in its earlier periods. I have only a few more observations to make on this subject. Speaking in general terms, the government was a despotism, the Emperors designating their successors, subject to the formal approbation of a shadowy Senate. Says an able writer: "The despotism of the court of Constantinople could not endure even the forms of free institutions. The Cæsar of the East was the counterpart of his Moslem conqueror; and the change from the Proto-Sebastos would have been one simply of name, had it not been for the superior energy of the first Osmanli princes. The one, like the other, had his viziers, his janizaries, his slaves, tyrannizing over prince and people. Through the dreary monotony of the history of the Eastern Empire, so deficient in moral and political interest, there are always coming into view the characteristic features of Asiatic tyranny, — the domestic treason, — the prince born in the purple, — the unnatural queen-mother, — the son or the brothers murdered or blinded, — the sudden revolutions of the throne, — the deposition of the sovereign, but the government remaining the same, — and the people careless as to who or what their tyrant might be. Everything by which a people can outwardly show what is within — literature, art, and architecture — displays the influence of the East; — the literature learned, artificial, florid, but deficient in elegance and grace, and without a spark to illuminate it; the art but the figure of their ceremonial life, deficient in all deep and sincere feeling, and showing, under the hardness

of the shape and the sameness of the expression, the dull and slavish constraint to which it was subject."

All this is undoubtedly true ; and yet a taste for Byzantine art spread throughout Europe in the Middle Ages. The most gorgeous monuments, which lend a never-failing interest to the dying beauty of the Queen of the Adriatic, betray the overruling influence of Constantinople, which had fallen before the untamed spirit of the blind old Dandolo. The system of the administration was so strongly put together, that the government went on, with something of its ancient power,—though its people were wasting away, and its destruction was slowly and surely approaching,— long after the Western Empire had fallen in pieces ; and the term of its existence was longer than that for which any other government has yet lasted. It is a striking fact, noticed by Mr. Finlay, that though ancient Byzantium was laughed at by the comic poets of Athens for its iron coins, yet the currency of the Byzantine Empire — especially the gold coins, of which a large number have been preserved, and some are still occasionally found in Greece — was the purest then known in the world, passed everywhere in commerce, and through all the mutations in the fortunes of the Empire remained unchanged to the last.

Another remarkable feature of the Byzantine Empire was the position held by women, and the pains taken with female education, notwithstanding the satirical innuendoes of Chrysostom. Of course, beauty and stature were much thought of there, in the appreciation of female charms. Full, dark, and liquid eyes, a straight and exquisitely chiselled nose, and beautifully arranged teeth, were perhaps as irresistible then as now; but the owners of these charms were not allowed to turn them to any account at the most important period, and in deciding the most important question a young lady is ever called upon to consider. The arrangement of marriage was made wholly by the parents and friends of the parties, who seldom even saw each other, until the indissoluble knot was tied. The contract was ratified both by civil and religious ceremonies. The priest joined the

hands of the parties at the bride's home, and on the following day the bride, thickly bedaubed with paint, and loaded with ornaments, not only from her own wardrobe, but from those of her friends, was taken from the paternal dwelling, where, up to that moment, she had lived in strict seclusion, and conducted to the home of the bridegroom, attended by lamps and torches, with singers, dancers, and revellers, making night hideous by their scurrility and buffoonery. At the end of a week the borrowed ornaments had to be restored: the tumult and festivities were over, and she, who before her marriage had been little better than a prisoner in her father's house, enjoyed a degree of liberty and authority at home and abroad which is scarcely exceeded by that of women even in the present enlightened age. It is stated by the historians, that, in many cases, the Byzantine women were educated better than the men. The ancient Greek language was assiduously cultivated by the ladies of the upper classes; and we have more than one authority for asserting that, down to the latest period of the Byzantine Empire, this language was spoken and written by them with almost undiminished propriety and elegance. The instance of Anna Comnena, of whom I shall say a few words by and by, is a case in point. Her history of her father's reign maintains a very respectable place among the Byzantine historians, and she lived in the latter part of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century.

The education of boys at day-schools commenced about the fifth year. Reading, spelling, the recitation of passages from approved authors, writing, arithmetic, and geometry filled the years up to about fifteen, after which they completed their studies at the University of Constantinople, at Alexandria, Berytus, or Tarsus, or at Athens, so long as the schools in that capital existed. The Logic of Aristotle—an excellent text-book — was in common use, though, in general, the writings of the great Stageirite were found too hard and dry for the tender intellects of the Byzantine youth. The eloquence of Plato made him, naturally, a greater favorite with the *studiosa juventus*.

The professions of law and medicine were well provided for. Berytus, near which the combat took place between St. George and the Dragon, was, from the third to the middle of the sixth century, the seat of the most celebrated School of Law, and was called by Nonnus "the source of tranquil life." The chief medical school was at Alexandria. Frequently young men were sent to Rome to acquire a knowledge of the Latin language and literature, which was quite necessary for success at court, so long as the Roman traditions prevailed there. In the words of an able writer in the London Quarterly Review, "The student was required to bring with him a letter of introduction from the governor of his province, stating his birthplace, parentage, and rank. On his arrival this letter was presented to the master of the census, a police magistrate under the Prefectus Urbis, who exercised something of a proctorial authority. In his presence, the youth professed or announced the course of study he intended to pursue. His lodgings, or place of residence, must be signified to the same authority, 'that his diligent attention to his studies might be readily ascertained.' The same inspection extended to his general habits and associations, particularly that he did not too much frequent public amusements or disorderly parties. A resolute offender, whose conduct proved unworthy of the liberal arts, was subject to very summary treatment: he is to be publicly whipped, put on board ship, and dismissed to his friends." Such is the edict in the Theodosian Code. The proceeding is not unlike the ceremony once performed in our College Library at Cambridge, when a student, having been detected in some enormity, was called up before the assembled dignitaries, and after prayer by the President, and, I believe, the singing of a psalm, soundly flogged by the beadle. Monthly returns appear to have been made to the Emperor, that he might ascertain the respective merits and pursuits of the pupils, and whether they could be made available for the public service.

But the peculiar Greek education was that which was to be had at Athens. The men of letters here bore, as in the earlier

times, the general designation of Sophists; and the young men were frantic with enthusiasm for their favorites among that learned body. The moment a new-comer arrived at the Peiræus with his bed and bedding, he was seized upon by some heated partisan, and dragged to this or that philosopher. He was attacked by the older students — sophomores, perhaps — with all sorts of quizzing questions, to try his mettle. Then he was led through the Agora to the bath by these uproarious sophisters in double file, shouting and leaping like madmen. Where the tutors and proctors were all this while, we are not told. Arriving at the bath, he was ordered to stop; the doors were battered with prodigious clattering; and when, at length, they gave way, the new-comer was admitted a fully qualified member of the academic body at Athens. There was much that was most delightful in a residence at Athens, and we can fully understand and sympathize with what Gregory of Nazianzus says of the parting scene between him and Basil, who, with other young men of congenial tastes, had formed a society there, which bound them together by the ties of literary intercourse, a common Christian faith, and devotion to a Christian life. "The day of our departure, and all the circumstances of departure arrived, — the farewell words, the attendance to our ship, the last messages, the lamentations, embraces, tears. Nothing is so painful as for friends to be severed from Athens and from each other. Our companions and some of the professors surrounded us, and entreated that we would desist from our design. With Basil it was ineffectual, and he departed; while I, who felt cut asunder by the separation, speedily followed him."

The position of physicians in the Eastern Empire was most honorable; and I believe it has continued so down through the Turkish times. The dignity of senator, and even the government of provinces, were often conferred on eminent practitioners. To each division of the city an *arch-iatros* — chief physician — was appointed by election of his coadjutors, subject to the confirmation of the Emperor; for the benefit of the poor, he

was paid a salary from the public treasury; and it was provided that these public physicians should, in their general practice, receive only such an amount, by way of fees, as the patient judged right when convalescent, not what he offered under the terrors of sickness. What was done if the patient died, we are not told. These arrangements seem to have been borrowed from the ancient customs of the Athenians, and perhaps of other Greek states; for we find in Plato allusions to the election of a public board of physicians.

It is clear, then, that in the most flourishing period of the Eastern Empire the great institutions for literary and professional education existed on a very respectable scale. Law, medicine, and letters had their special establishments, amply furnished with men and resources, to teach publicly or privately all the science of the age. Divinity was not provided for in the same way; but the great preachers and dignitaries of the Church superintended and directed the preparation of young men for the performance of public religious services, when their literary and rhetorical studies were completed. These few outlines present the subject of Byzantine education in its best estate. With the progress of time, the decay of wealth, the increasing corruption of public morals, and the deepening of the darkness of ignorance which gradually descended upon the world, education also declined; though, as I have already said, there were men and women of the nobler families, down to the last days of Byzantium, who kept the lamp of learning trimmed and burning through the darkest of the dark ages.

The government of Greece continued, long after the imperial throne was established at Constantinople, to retain the proconsular form, and the name of the proconsulate, *Achaia;* but in the time of Constantine IV., or perhaps a little later, in the reign of Heraclius, — for the details of the changes brought about by the dangers threatened from the Barbarians are extremely obscure, — the Empire was redivided and territorially reorganized into departments called *Themata*, or *Themes*. The word is not used in this sense until the Byzantine times.

In the eighth century the office of proconsul, except as a mere titular dignity, was abandoned. The connection between the Constantinopolitan court and the Greek people was made closer by religious as well as by political feelings, by the use of the Greek language in the administration, by the established predominance of the Orthodox Greek Church, and, finally, by the severance of those provinces which possessed a native population distinct from the Greeks in language, literature, and religion, through the conquests of the Saracens. The Themes of Greece proper — or the western part of the Empire — were Peloponnesus, Hellas, Nicopolis, Dyrrachium, Thessaly, the Theme of the Ægean Sea, and Cephallenia. Each of these Themes was under the authority of a ruler called Strategos, or commander, whose powers were very comprehensive, embracing both military and civil functions; but in the main, as the title shows, the office would seem to have been military. These Strategoi formed the first of the seven orders, or classes, into which those were divided who were appointed directly by imperial nomination to the higher offices of the state. These great officers were not, however, of equal rank; but what circumstances made a difference of dignity I do not find anywhere explained. The whole number, at one time at least, was twenty-nine. The Strategos of Hellas is mentioned as the twenty-second, and the Strategos of the Ægean Sea as the twenty-ninth. There was another class of military officers called Kleisourarchai, or commanders of the passes. In Greece there was the Kleisourarch of Larissa, and I believe he is the only one mentioned as belonging to that country; for the Strategoi, or high military commanders, it is expressly stated, had charge of the Strait of Thermopylæ, the Isthmus of Corinth, the mountain-passes into Attica, and those in the Peloponnesus. With these military rulers was associated another official personage, called the "Judge of Hellas," who not only had the superintendence of the administration of justice, but was charged with the general oversight of the taxes and other public burdens laid upon the several Themes.

At the beginning of the tenth century, when the Emperor Leo VI., called the Wise, led a great expedition against the Saracens in Crete, the Theme of the Ægean Sea furnished four thousand mariners, forty-one hundred land troops, and fourteen ships of different sizes; the Theme of Hellas furnished ten ships, each carrying three hundred men, besides a large supply of arms, including four thousand javelins and two hundred thousand arrows; and other Themes in a like proportion. The statement is a curious one, because it indicates a much higher degree of wealth than is usually supposed to have been possessed by Greece in that century. It is further stated, that the metropolitans of Corinth and Patræ furnished four horses each; each ordinary bishop, two; and the imperial or patriarchal cloisters, as also those belonging to the archbishoprics, to the metropolitan churches, and to the bishoprics, two each. The exempts are also specified, — certain persons in the imperial service, such as purple-fishers and makers of parchment. Many other similar particulars are given by Constantine Porphyrogenitus; but as my purpose is merely to sketch the state of things in a brief and general manner, these facts will perhaps suffice to show, what is expressly stated by some of the Byzantine historians, that a period of comparative prosperity followed the close of the Slavonic period in Greece, which enabled her to offer a more efficient resistance to the assaults of the Saracens, in the ninth and tenth centuries, than was made by any other insular or maritime power round the Mediterranean Sea.

The Byzantine Empire and some of the states of Western Europe had already suffered from the Saracenic invasions; Asia Minor had been ravaged up to the shores of the Bosporus; the armies assembled to encounter them had broken out into open rebellion; and six Emperors had been dethroned in twenty-one years, when Leo the Isaurian, the great reforming Emperor of the eighth century, was crowned by the Patriarch in the Church of St. Sophia, on the 25th of March, 717. The activity and energy of this monarch soon repelled the armies of the Khaliffs.

But his next enterprise was one of more difficult achievement. The use of pictures and images, unknown in the primitive Church, had by degrees become universal in the Eastern world; and the acts of devotion performed by the illiterate before them were considered by thoughtful minds as a dangerous diversion of the feelings from the worship of the true God. Among other causes which had diffused this view may be mentioned the prodigious growth of the Mahometan imposture, and the contrast between the stern simplicity of the conception of the Deity among the followers of the Arabian prophet and the apparently idolatrous practices of the Orthodox Oriental Church. Leo the Isaurian took this view, though not in the slightest degree deviating from rigid orthodoxy, as to dogmas which the œcumenical councils had established. He engaged in a warfare against image-worship, resolved to put it down by the whole force of the imperial power. The contest lasted through the lives of the Emperor and of ten of his successors. It involved a fierce controversy with the Latin Church, and finally the separation between the two. The feelings of the people were strongly in favor of image-worship; the majority of the clergy went with the people; and though two councils declared the practice idolatrous, and excommunicated those who upheld it, driving many of the clergy into banishment, yet the iconoclasts, after a hundred and fifty years of conflict, were finally, in the middle of the ninth century, obliged to retire from the field.

The result is thus summarily stated by Mr. Finlay: "Every rank of society at last proclaimed that it was weary of religious discussion and domestic strife. Indifference to the ecclesiastical questions so long predominant produced indifference to religion itself, and the power of conscience became dormant; enjoyment was soon considered the object of life; and vice, under the name of pleasure, became the fashion of the day. In this state of society superstition was sure to be more powerful than religion. It was easier to pay adoration to a picture, to reverence a relic, to observe a ceremony, than to regulate one's conduct in life by the principles of morality and the

doctrines of religion. Pictures, images, relics, and ceremonies became, consequently, the great objects of veneration. The Greek population of the Empire had identified its national feelings with traditional usages, rather than with Christian doctrines; and its opposition to the Asiatic puritanism of the Isaurian, Armenian, and Amorian Emperors ingrafted the reverence for relics, the adoration of pictures, and the worship of saints into the religious fabric of the Eastern Church, as essentials of Christian worship. Whatever the Church has gained in this way, in the amount of popular devotion, seems to have been lost to popular morality."

However this may have been, it seems clear that Christianity paved the way for those legal and moral reforms — initiated by Leo the Isaurian, and carried throughout the Empire in his and the succeeding reigns — which distinguish what has been termed the iconoclastic or image-breaking period of Byzantine history. Private life in the Byzantine Empire, at this period, compared with the state of morals among the Arabs and Saracens in the East, or the Franks in the West, appears to great advantage. The religion of Mahomet was, in many respects, better than the barbarous, cruel, bloody, and licentious rites that prevailed among the Arabs before his time. But that religion taught the duty of conquering unbelievers by the sword, and in the family it established polygamy, with its accompanying vices and horrors, throughout the East: while in the West, we find the conquering nations oppressing their subject nations, wholly regardless of the demands of justice, and even such rulers as Charles Martel, Pepin, and Charlemagne exhibiting in their private lives the most shameless profligacy. The establishment of numerous hospitals and other charitable institutions, the improvement of the condition of slaves, the partial suppression of the slave-trade, the substitution of the labor of free immigrants in the cities for compulsory labor, all show how deeply the spirit of Christianity had penetrated into the masses of the people. Theodore Studita, Abbot of the Monastery of Studium in Constantinople, in his *Diatheke*,

or Confession of Faith, written shortly before his death, says: "A monk ought not to possess a slave, neither for his own service, nor for the service of his monastery, nor for the culture of its lands; for a slave is a man made after the image of God." Similar sentiments had found utterance even before. Justinian had declared that it was the glory of the Emperor to hasten the emancipation of slaves. At a later period, Alexis I. established the principle, that the most favorable interpretation was to be given to those who sought to prove their right to personal liberty. He declared that, though human society and laws have divided mankind into freemen and slaves, yet it must be remembered that, in the eye of God, all men are equal, that there is one Lord of all, and one faith and baptism for the slave as for the master. It is needless to show how widely this philanthropic spirit diverged from the practice both of the Mahometans in the East and of the Latin Christians in the West, and how much higher was the type of civilization in which these humane and liberal views were embodied than existed at that time anywhere else in the world.

From the period of which I have been speaking, the condition of Greece remained without any important change until the conquests of the Normans in the eleventh century. In 1081 Robert Guiscard passed over from Brindisi to Corfou with a powerful fleet. The inhabitants of the island making no resistance, he landed in Epeirus; but the death of this chieftain left the expedition with no permanent consequence on the condition of the country. Another invasion of Greece was made by Bohemund, called the Duke of Antioch. It was repelled by the Emperor Alexis, and Bohemund was forced to acknowledge himself liegeman of the Byzantine Emperor. A third invasion was conducted by Roger, the powerful and wealthy king of Sicily. He appeared off Corfou in 1146, with a fleet of seventy sail, and, having easily mastered the island, proceeded to the mainland, marched through Epeirus and Attica, and plundered Thebes, Athens, and Corinth. Thebes was then a rich manufacturing town,

especially remarkable for the silk trade. The city was completely pillaged; gold, silver, jewels, bales of silk, were carried off to the fleet; and the most skilful of the silk-workers transported as slaves to Sicily, there to exercise their industry for the benefit of their new masters. Corinth was sacked with equal cruelty. These spoliations were a fatal blow to the prosperity of Greece, which had been silently advancing for the two preceding centuries. But little occurred to disturb the country during the century that followed, until the Crusades broke out, and precipitated the chivalry of Europe upon the coasts of Asia.

The Khaliffs interfered but little with the Christian pilgrims visiting the sacred places in the Holy Land; but when the Seljuk Turks, having secured the dominion over the Saracens, became masters of Jerusalem, the pilgrims were exposed to unheard-of cruelties, which exasperated the Christian world.

The religious enthusiasm of Western Europe, harmonizing with the spirit of chivalry, created a storm of unparalleled violence, and swept the combined hosts of the Christian powers from Europe to the East, resolved to rescue the Holy Sepulchre from the polluting hands of the infidels. Here commenced the question about the Holy Places, which originally armed the great nations of Christendom against the followers of Mahomet; and which now, blending with political interests of the same great nations, has armed them in defence of the Turk against the encroachments of the Czar, reopening the book of blood and horror which we had hoped was closed forever.

The first three Crusades, though very important in their effects upon the Byzantine Empire, did not directly act upon the condition of Greece; but the fourth Crusade, which took place in 1203, had the most important consequences. The arrival of the armies of the West was in the highest degree unwelcome to the Emperors of the East; but they could not well save themselves from the necessity of extending reluctant hospitalities to the intruders. The Greek assumed to be far in advance of the rest of the world in refinement, and felt contempt for

the rudeness and barbarism of the Latin; and the Latin looked at the Greek as of a degraded caste and a heretic. In June of 1203, the Venetian fleet, with an army of Crusaders on board, appeared at Constantinople, having engaged to restore the son of the dethroned Emperor to his hereditary rights. They were commanded by Henry Dandolo, the blind old warrior of Venice, who had private wrongs to avenge no less than public engagements to fulfil. After two days of desperate fighting the city was taken, and Alexis IV. crowned Emperor. A destructive conflagration soon after laid a great part of the city in ashes, in consequence of a wilful act of incendiarism, committed in a drunken frolic by some Flemish soldiers; and Constantinople never entirely recovered from the calamity. This excited the fury of the people beyond all bounds; and fifteen thousand of the Latins, who resided within the walls of the city, were forced to quit the capital and seek safety in Galata, beyond the Golden Horn. The Venetians and Crusaders again laid siege to Constantinople, on the 12th of April, 1204; and another portion of the city perished by a third conflagration. "These three fires," it is said, "which the Franks had lighted in Constantinople, destroyed more houses than were contained in the three largest cities in France." Thus the capital of the Byzantine Empire fell into the hands of Latin princes; and the Empire itself, under the name of Romania, reorganized under a series of Western Emperors, continued until 1261. Greece, too, was completely remodelled. Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat, became sovereign of Thessalonica. Epeirus still continued, under the title at first of a despotate, to be governed by a Byzantine family. Afterwards it was changed into an empire, and then changed back again to a despotate, which lasted until 1469. Achaia and the Morea, under Guillelme de Champlite and his successor, Geoffrey de Villehardouin, became a principality, and so continued till 1387. The Dukedom of the Archipelago, or Naxos, lasted from 1207 to 1566, — a greater prolongation of the Frankish power than occurred anywhere else in the East.

But by far the most interesting of these Frankish establishments in Greece was the Dukedom of Athens, which began in 1205, with the reign of Otho de la Roche, and continued in his family until 1308. The house of Brienne succeeded at this time, in the person of Walter de Brienne, who, being threatened by his enemies, called in the assistance of the Grand Catalan Company, — a troop of marauders, whose adventures in the East form a very romantic episode in this chapter of history. When he attempted to dismiss them, they defied him, and, marching into the plain of Bœotia, took up a position on the banks of the Cephissus, near the ancient Orchomenos. The Duke of Athens, with a numerous body of cavalry, pursued them. The Catalan leaders had conducted the waters of the Cephissus into the fields covered with corn, just in front of their own lines, making the ground soft and muddy, while the verdure concealed every appearance of irrigation. The Duke dashed on with his horsemen; but getting inextricably involved in the yielding earth, the whole band of cavalry, with the exception of two, were slain. The Catalans pushed their conquest vigorously, capturing both Thebes and Athens. At Thebes they burned the magnificent Palace of St. Omar, whose splendor had been the theme of minstrels in that age. At Athens they laid waste the olive-groves of the Academy and Colonos. They divided the fiefs of the nobles who had fallen, and the officers took in marriage the surviving widows and heiresses. In the language of Muntaner, the quaint old Spanish chronicler, who was an eyewitness of what he describes, "Many stout Catalan warriors received as wives noble ladies, for whom, the day before their victory, they would have counted it an honor to be allowed to hold their washing-basin."

These events were followed by the establishment of a Duke from the Sicilian branch of the house of Aragon, at the request conveyed by a deputation of the Catalans to Frederic II. From that time the Duchy of Athens and Neopatras became an appanage of the house of Aragon, and so remained

until 1386. From this line of princes the power passed to the Florentine house of Acciauoli, which had risen by commercial success to great influence both in Italy and in the East. Six Dukes of this family ruled over Athens from 1386 to 1456, when Attica, with the rest of Greece, fell under the yoke of the Turks, and the transient reflex of ancient prosperity she had enjoyed under these Western rulers sank in the long night of slavery.

During the period of the Dukes of Athens, Muntaner declares that the Frankish chivalry of Greece was second to none in Europe. The Duke of Athens was one of the greatest princes of the Empire of Romania, and among the noblest of those sovereigns who did not bear the kingly title. Athens was the resort of the gayest knights; and chivalrous games and ceremonies were often rehearsed among the classic ruins which still abounded in that city. The service of the Roman Church was performed in the Parthenon, then consecrated to the Blessed Virgin; and on one occasion, as the pages of the delightful old chronicler attest, a visitor to the ducal palace received the honor of knighthood in the Temple of Athene. Among the classic sculptures still found, though in mutilated beauty, on the Acropolis, there are some rude fragments executed in the time of the Franks.

But these Latin princes never identified themselves with the native population. They preserved their language, as they did their manners, unchanged; and Muntaner says, "The French was spoken as well at Athens as at Paris." The feudal system they introduced was abhorrent to the spirit of the people, and never rooted itself in the popular feelings. They lived as a ruling caste among a subject race, and the vices of the system made them an easy prey to the fiery zeal and hardihood of a fresh nation of conquerors. They too, like the invaders who preceded them, utterly disappeared from the face of Hellas, with their language, their manners, their jousts and tournaments, their stately revels, and their devotion to the fair. They left a few ruined castles here and there on the hill-tops of

Greece, contrasting strangely with the classic ruins of Hellenic times. The stately Palace of St. Omar, at Thebes, where Muntaner visited his master, Don Fernando of Majorca, who was then a prisoner in its grand old halls, is all gone, except a ruined tower, which hostile forces and the convulsions of nature have been alike unable to shatter. Here and there, in the decaying monasteries of Greece, a few musty records of those times may be explored by the curious traveller. The Dukes of Athens, who held their knightly revels in their palace by the Propylæa, or presided over tournaments in the Plain of Athens, are now to be traced only in an arched subterranean chamber, an old tower, and two stone coffins in the crumbling monastery of Daphne, — which occupies the site of an ancient Temple of Apollo, — thrown carelessly into a dark room filled with rubbish, known only by the nearly obliterated *fleur-de-lis* carved on their sides, and shown for a drachma by two or three ancient nuns, who seem to have come down from the Middle Ages, — contemporaries of the ducal coffins now emptied of their tenants. When I looked upon the dusty vacancy where princes had once been laid, and listened to the cracked and droning voices where music and mirth had once been, both seemed a united lesson on the mutability of all human affairs.

LECTURE VI.

TURKISH CONQUEST OF CONSTANTINOPLE. — LITERATURE OF THE BYZANTINE PERIOD.

At the close of the last Lecture a brief outline was given of the epoch of the Frankish princes in Greece, lasting between two and three centuries from the taking of Constantinople by the Crusaders. I spoke of the Dukes of Athens, and of the temporary introduction of the feudal system and the spirit of chivalry, with Latin Christianity, among the classic memorials and splendid ruins still existing in that illustrious capital. The period, and the incidents of it which have been preserved by the writers of Constantinople, the chronicle of the fine old Spaniard Muntaner, and the picturesque records of Villehardouin concerning the capture of Constantinople, are exceedingly interesting; but I pause for a moment only to point out the traces which the Duchy of Athens has left here and there in modern literature. The fame of the brilliant court of Athens resounded through the West of Europe, and many a chapter of old romance is filled with gorgeous pictures of its splendors. One of the heroines of Boccaccio's Decameron, in the course of her adventurous life, is found at Athens, inspiring the Duke by her charms. Dante was a contemporary of Guy II. and Walter de Brienne; and, in his "Divina Commedia," he applies to Theseus, king of ancient Athens, the title so familiar to him, borne by the princely rulers in his own day. Theseus is, like Otho or Walter, *il Duca d'Atene*, — the Duke of Athens. Chaucer, too, — the bright herald of English poetry, — had often heard of the Dukes of Athens; and he too, like Dante, gives the title to Theseus. Finally, in

the age of Elizabeth, when Italian poetry was much studied by scholars and courtiers, Shakespeare, in the delightful scenes of the Midsummer Night's Dream, introduces Theseus, Duke of Athens, as the conqueror and the lover of Hippolyta, the warrior-queen of the Amazons.

As the Byzantine Empire was overthrown by the Turks, and the fortunes of the Hellenic race have been bound up with the triumphs of these descendants of Tartars; as Eastern Christianity has been so long under the domination of the religion of Islam, and has at length, after tedious centuries of servitude, partly emancipated itself from the yoke, and, in the course of coming events, will probably complete its enfranchisement; and as the transactions in the middle of the fifteenth century seem to me to explain the long and undiminished hostility between the Tartar and Hellenic races, — I will venture to dwell for a moment upon Turkish history, in a more connected manner than I have yet done.

The Turks are first mentioned in history in the sixth century. They are a Tartar race, from the great steppes of Northern Asia, at the foot of the Altai Mountains. In the eighth century they became blended with the Saracens in Persia, and in the tenth reigned over Palestine, Syria, and Egypt. In the eleventh century, another tribe, called the Seljuk Turks, subdued the greater part of Western Asia, and established the powerful empire with which the Crusaders waged war for the possession of the Holy Sepulchre. The Ottoman Empire, built upon the ruins of the transient dominions established by its predecessors, and now representing the Saracens, Arabs, and Turks, was founded in the thirteenth century by Othman, who extended the bounds of his territories to the shores of the Black Sea. This was a century and a half before the capture of Constantinople. In 1360, Adrianople was taken by Amurath I., and became for a time the seat of the Turkish Empire in Europe. The successors of this prince were involved in wars with the Venetians, Hungarians, and Poles, in which at eight different times the destinies of European civilization hung trembling in the balance.

Mahomet II. was born at Adrianople in 1430, and succeeded Amurath II. in 1451. He was a man of uncommon ability and acquirements for his race and his age. He understood five languages. The Greek historian Phranzes, who had seen him at the court of Amurath, describes him as highly gifted, fond of the society of learned men, not ignorant of science, and addicted to astrology. At the same time he was cruel to the last degree, pitiless, and licentious. No consideration, human or divine, stood between him and the gratification of his desires. But his acts and his conquests come within the scope of my subject no further than they affected the fortunes of the Greeks, and on this topic a few words must suffice. The conquest of Constantinople was the first object on which his thoughts were fixed at the opening of his reign. The resolution with which he had formed this purpose expressed itself in his stern reply to the ambassadors of the Emperor, offering him tribute if he would renounce the project of building a fort on the European shore of the Bosporus, which, at the distance of only five miles from the capital, would give him the command of the Black Sea. He ordered the envoys to retire, and threatened to flay alive any who should dare to bring him a similar message again. The fort was finished in three months, and garrisoned with four hundred janizaries; a tribute was exacted of all vessels that passed, and war was formally declared by the Sultan. Constantine made the best preparations in his power for defence; but he could muster only six hundred Greek soldiers. Disheartened by the feebleness and want of spirit manifested by his own subjects, the Emperor had recourse to the Pope, with a view to the reunion of the Eastern and Western Churches, in the hope of drawing to his standard a portion of the well-trained troops and officers then so numerous in Italy. A cardinal was accordingly despatched to Constantinople, and on the 12th of December, 1452, the Emperor Constantine celebrated his union with the Catholic Church in the Cathedral of St. Sophia. A few troops came from Italy, and Justiniani, an Italian officer,

arrived from Genoa with two galleys and three hundred chosen men. He was appointed general of the guard. But with all the reinforcements thus received, the number was insignificant, compared with the extent of the walls to be defended, and the overpowering host which the Sultan was concentrating around the devoted city. The hatred of the Greeks for the Latin Christians was an insurmountable obstacle to thorough co-operation. Dissensions broke out between the Grand Duke Notaras and the Italian commander. "I beseech you, my brethren," said the Emperor, "be at peace; the war from abroad is enough; for God's mercy, do not fight with one another."

Instead of rallying around their Emperor unanimously, the bigots among his subjects spent their time in denouncing his apostasy, and insulting him as he passed through the streets. Gennadius, who was afterwards Patriarch under the Sultan, carried this insane spirit of intolerance so far, that he declared he would rather see the turban of the Turks ruling in the heart of the city, than the mitre of the Latins. The means of defence, machines, artillery, and powder, (for cannon and gunpowder had already begun to be used,) were scantily provided. The land-wall, for five miles exposed to attack at every point, had to be manned; the wall towards the port and the Propontis was not far from nine miles in length, and the whole garrison amounted to only nine thousand men. The fleet consisted of twenty-three vessels of all kinds. The entrance of the port was closed by a strong chain, the end of which was secured in a fort, of which the Greeks held possession, in Galata.

The first division of the Ottoman army left Adrianople in February, 1453. In April, the Sultan established his lines from the head of the port to the shore of the Propontis, and erected his batteries — fourteen in all — against the principal gates, especially against Chasias and St. Romanos, the latter of which is now called Top Kapou, Cannon Gate, in commemoration of the siege. A Dacian artilleryman had cast a mon-

ster cannon expressly for this assault, two and a half feet in diameter at the mouth, for the purpose of firing granite balls. It took two months to transport it one hundred and eight miles; it was drawn by a hundred oxen, and held in equilibrium by four hundred men. This tremendous piece was mounted opposite the St. Romanos gate, where the chief assault was to be made. The army is said to have consisted of two hundred and fifty thousand men of all arms; and the fleet, of four hundred and twenty vessels of all sizes. These numbers are probably an exaggeration; but the overwhelming superiority of the Turkish forces, and the fiery energy of the youthful Sultan, left no hope of a successful resistance. Yet some disasters checked the ardor of the besiegers. Four corn-ships, bound for Constantinople, destroyed the Turkish galleys that intercepted them, and passed triumphantly into the harbor over the chain which was lowered for their passage. The great gun burst without doing any damage, except killing its inventor and many Turks; and a wooden tower they had brought up against the wall was burnt down in a night sortie by Justiniani. But these incidents only stimulated the activity of the Sultan. He resolved to place his fleet, which still lay in the upper part of the Bosporus, in direct communication with his army; but the harbor was closed and well defended. He accordingly conceived and executed with incredible energy the plan of transporting his galleys by land over the heights of Pera, and launching them in the Golden Horn, under protection of his own batteries. A road was built, laid with planks and rails, and covered with tallow, up which, by the aid of windlasses and numerous yokes of oxen, the vessels were dragged one after another, and let down the opposite slope, just above the present arsenal. The removal of a division of the Ottoman fleet thus took place in a single night, and at daylight the Greeks looked out with amazement upon seventy hostile ships, riding at anchor under the batteries. Having accomplished this signal achievement, the Sultan next threw across the harbor a bridge defended by artillery, to

establish an easy communication between the besieging force and the naval camp up the Bosporus. Mahomet now summoned the Emperor to surrender, offering him an appanage as a vassal of the Porte; but Constantine, who had calmly resolved not to survive the fall of the city, indignantly rejected the insulting proposal. On the night before the assault, the Emperor rode round to all the posts, encouraging the troops by his cheerful demeanor; then, resorting to the Church of St. Sophia, he partook with his companions of the holy sacrament, according to the Latin form. He returned to the imperial palace, and, asking pardon of all the members of his household for every offence he might ever have given them, withdrew, amidst their sighs and prayers and tears, mounted his horse, and rode away, with the solemn certainty that he should never meet them again in this world.

Before the dawn of day, May 29, 1453, preparations were made for the assault, the troops rapidly taking their positions before the portions of the wall they were to attack, and the galleys, with towers and scaling platforms, moving up against the fortifications of the port, protected by the artillery on the bridge. The principal attack was directed to the gate of St. Romanos, where a passage had already been effected into the city. For more than two hours the defence was maintained at every point, and in the harbor victory seemed, for a time, inclining in favor of the besieged; but at length, the small number of the defenders being diminished by death and exhausted by fatigue, their commander wounded, and the Emperor left almost unsupported, a chosen band, led on by a gigantic warrior, Hassan of Ulubad, gained the summit of the dilapidated tower which flanked the passage. Theophilus Palæologos, when he saw the Emperor fighting, and the city on the point of falling, cried out with a loud voice, and with tears, Θέλω θανεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ζῆν, — "I wish to die rather than to live," — and, rushing into the midst of the adverse ranks, and hewing them down with his sword, was at length overpowered and slain. The Emperor, left almost alone, was cut down by

the Turks, who, in the dim morning twilight, failed to recognize him. Hassan and many of his followers fell; but, fresh columns coming up, a corps of janizaries rushed into Constantinople over the lifeless body of the Emperor. Other columns entered at other points, and the despairing people — senators, priests, monks, nuns, husbands, wives, and children — sought safety in the Church of St. Sophia. A prophecy had been circulated that here the Turks would be arrested by an angel from heaven, with a drawn sword; and hither the miserable multitude crowded, in the expectation of supernatural help. The conquerors followed, sword in hand, slaughtering those whom they encountered in the street. They broke down the doors of the church with axes, and, rushing in, committed every act of atrocity that a frantic thirst for blood and the inflamed passions of demons could suggest. All the unhappy victims were divided as slaves among the soldiers, without regard to blood or rank, and hurried off to the camp; and the mighty cathedral, so long the glory of the Christian world, soon presented only traces of the orgies of hell. The other quarters of the city were plundered by other divisions of the army. The rich warehouses along the port were speedily pillaged of their accumulated merchandise. About noon the Sultan made his triumphal entry by the gate of St. Romanos, passing by the body of the Emperor, which lay concealed among the slain. Entering the church, he ordered a moolah to ascend the bema, and announce to the Mussulmans that St. Sophia was now a mosque, consecrated to the prayers of the true believers. He ordered the body of the Emperor to be sought, his head to be exposed to the people, and afterwards to be sent as a trophy, to be seen by the Greeks, in the principal cities of the Ottoman Empire. For three days the city was given up to the indescribable horrors of pillage and the license of the Mussulman soldiery. Forty thousand perished during the sack of the city, and fifty thousand were reduced to slavery. Youth, strength, beauty, and rank only insured to their possessors the sad lot of servitude, adding often the harsher doom of an

enforced conversion to the Mahometan faith. Many families were utterly destroyed. The Grand Duke Notaras, one of the most distinguished persons in the Empire, refused to comply with the demand of the Sultan, that his youngest son should be sent to become a page in the palace, well knowing the fate which would await him there. The Sultan ordered him and all his sons to instant execution. The scene of the execution, as described by Ducas and Phranzes, is most pathetic, — the father encouraging his sons, by Christian exhortations, to meet death bravely, and then, after retiring to a chapel for a moment's prayer, calmly submitting to the headsman, with the bodies of his murdered children lying before him. Of other families, the men were put to death, the male children placed in the schools of the janizaries, and the females shut up in the harems of the Sultan and his courtiers. Even Mahomet, when he arrived at the imperial palace, was struck by the melancholy aspect of the place, and by so awful an illustration of the mutability of human affairs. Even he — stained with blood — recalled a couplet of the Persian poet Firdusi: —

> "The spider's curtain hangs before the portal of the royal palace;
> The owl fills with his nocturnal wail the watch-tower of Efrasyab."

Mahomet was not destitute of political craft. He well understood the necessity of securing the allegiance of the great authorities of the Oriental Church. The Koran does not imperatively command the destruction of unbelieving dogs; it is enough to satisfy the spirit of the religion if they are made tributaries and slaves. The Patriarch of Constantinople fled to Italy on the downfall of the city; the Sultan directed the clergy to proceed to the election of another. Their choice fell unanimously on George Scholarius, or Gennadius, a native of Constantinople, who had early in life distinguished himself by his literary acquirements. He was at first opposed to the reunion of the Eastern and Western Churches, but, when attending the Emperor at the Councils of Ferrara and Florence, was induced to advocate the measure. Afterwards, returning to Constantinople, he went back to his earlier opinion,

denounced the union as an act of apostasy which would bring down the wrath of Heaven upon the devoted city, and became a leader against the legate of the Pope. He retired into a monastery, but continued to guide the counsels of the Orthodox clergy. Attempting to make his escape on the capture of the city, he was brought back, and held the patriarchal dignity about five years, when he abdicated and retired to a monastery at Serræ, where he closed his life. Most of his works still remain unpublished. In the work called *Historia Patriarchica*, written in modern Greek in the sixteenth century, and containing the history of the Church of Constantinople from 1454 to 1578, it is related that, after the Sultan had inquired of the clergy concerning the ceremonies of investiture practised by the Emperors, and had established Gennadius in the dignities of the office, he went personally to the patriarchal palace, and had a long conversation with him on the subject of religion. "And the Patriarch," says the historian, "exhibited to him the whole truth of our faith, without fear." Afterwards he wrote down the substance of what he had said in twenty articles, and submitted it, translated into Turkish, to the Sultan. The document contains a very good summary of Christian doctrines, including the dogmas of the councils, which are explained as well here, perhaps, as anywhere. Some of the sentences express the Christian view of God, and the relations of man to the Creator, with remarkable force. The simple-minded historian says that the Sultan not only greatly admired the theology and wisdom of the Patriarch, but was strongly moved to believe in Christianity, and conceived a great friendship for the whole Christian community; that he forbade his subjects to molest or slander any Christian; and that he had much joy in having become the lord and master of such a race. All this is very curious as an illustration of the character of Mahomet II.; and it had the effect of calming the fears of many who had left the city, and who, on returning, were allowed to resume a portion of their property. Others, to the number of five thousand families, he compelled to re-

move to Constantinople from different parts of his dominions. As he enlarged his conquests, he continued the same policy; and before the close of his reign that city had become again a great and comparatively flourishing capital; but it had lost its character as the seat of Byzantine power and art. Mosques, minarets, fountains, and tombs had been constructed in every quarter; more than forty of the most splendid Christian churches were converted into mosques; and Stamboul became the picturesque Oriental city we behold it at the present day.

The princes of the Morea, learning the capture of Constantinople, sent their submission to the Sultan, which was received on condition of a yearly tribute of twelve thousand gold ducats; and now nearly the whole of Greece, from north to south, was subjected to the sceptre of the Moslems, almost without further resistance.

But disturbances and revolts called for the presence of the Sultan; and by a vigorous campaign, in 1458, he reduced the rebels to submission. Again, in 1460, he passed the Isthmus of Corinth to suppress new tumults, and, by a series of the most atrocious massacres, not only of men taken with arms in their hands, but of unarmed men, women, and children, — more than six thousand having been slain, and ten thousand transported to Constantinople, — put a full end to the power of the Byzantine rulers; and after a few more desperate struggles by the local organizations, in which similar scenes of slaughter were enacted, the subjection of the Morea, with the exception of a few places held by the Venetians, was completed, its resources exhausted, and its spirit broken, so that the annual tribute of children, which the Christians were compelled to send to Constantinople, failed to awaken either patriotism or despair among the Greeks.

A singular chapter, or episode, of Byzantine life and history, is presented by the Empire of Trebizond. Along the shores of the Black Sea many cities were early settled by colonists from Greece. From the mouth of the Halys to the

Caucasus extends a magnificent country of rich plains, wooded hills, forests, and rapid, fertilizing streams. On a table-shaped rock, on the southeastern shore of the Euxine, the Greeks established a citadel, which from its form they called *Trapezous*, — now changed into Trebizond, — as early as the eighth century before Christ. In the Roman times it became an important centre of commercial relations between Persia and Europe, enjoying the privileges of a free city. It shared the fortunes of the Byzantine Empire, and in the Iconoclastic period became the capital of the Theme of Chaldia, and the centre of the diplomatic relations between the Imperial government and the princes of Armenia ; and when the wars between the Saracens and Christians broke out, the Duke of Chaldia, who was charged with the business relating to them, made Trebizond his principal residence. From time to time, the rulers of this Theme attempted to make themselves independent of the Imperial supremacy. But it was not until the Crusaders captured Constantinople, and divided the greater part of the provinces of the Empire among their princes, that Trebizond became a separate government, under the rule of a descendant of the Comneni.

This family, which gave a dynasty to Byzantium, first appeared prominently towards the end of the tenth century, and from that time, for four hundred years, took a conspicuous, though not always an honorable, part in the affairs of the world. Alexis Comnenus, a young prince, nephew of the Emperor Isaac Comnenus, escaped to Colchis during the siege of Constantinople, with his brother David, and there succeeded in raising an army, with which he entered Trebizond just at the moment of the fall of the capital. Assuming the title of Megas Comnenos, or Grand Comnenus, to distinguish himself from the numerous descendants of other branches of the family, he was readily acknowledged Emperor, and, at the age of twenty-two, was crowned at Trebizond. His career of conquest at first was rapid and brilliant; but at length the young Emperor, coming into collision with the Seljuk Turks, who were

spreading desolation along their path, was obliged to acknowledge himself a vassal of the Seljuk Empire, and to pay an annual tribute to the Sultan Azeddin. From 1222 to 1280 Trebizond continued tributary to the Seljuk Sultans; but on the accession of John II. her independence was completely restored.

The history of Trebizond, from this time forward, under twelve Emperors and three Empresses, is crowded with the details of external and civil wars, which have no important bearing upon the general condition of the world. The Orthodox Eastern Church was here supported, under the protection of St. Eugenios, who was so great a favorite that one son out of every family bore his name. A document relating to a lawsuit was found by Fallmerayer, in which three of the litigating parties were named Eugenios. In the conquering career of the Turks, the doom of Trebizond was postponed until Constantinople had fallen, and the Morea had yielded to the arms of Mahomet II. In 1461 the Sultan advanced with his fleets and armies, resolved on the subjugation of Trebizond. He met with little opposition from David, the last Emperor of the Comnenian line, who made terms with the invader, surrendered the city, and withdrew with his family and his treasures to his European appanage. The wealthy inhabitants were compelled to emigrate to Constantinople, and their estates and palaces were conferred on Ottoman officers. The remainder of the population of both sexes were set apart as slaves of the Sultan and the army. The sons of the noblest families, remarkable for personal beauty, were placed as pages in the Sultan's seraglio, and others were enrolled in the corps of janizaries, or distributed among the soldiers as slaves. Ancient churches and monasteries, with curious paintings in the Byzantine style, — pictures of saints and portraits of Emperors, — still attest the former genius and piety of the city; but they are fast disappearing by decay and neglect, and, unless the lovers of art soon take measures for their protection, will utterly pass away, as Christian art long since perished at Constantinople. At the

present day, not a single descendant of an ancient Trapezuntian family is known to survive.

The dethroned Emperor was permitted to live in peace for a few years; but about 1470 he fell under the jealous suspicions of the Sultan, was arrested with all his family, and carried to Constantinople. He was ordered to embrace the faith of Islam, under pain of death; but he rejected the condition with firmness. The Emperor, his seven sons, and his nephew Alexis, were put to death, and their lifeless bodies cast out, unburied, beyond the walls. They would have been consumed by the dogs, "accustomed," says an eloquent writer, "during the reign of Mahomet II. to feed on Christian flesh," but for the pious care of the Empress Helen, who, clad in an humble garb, repaired to the spot, watched over their bodies during the day, and, in the darkness of night, assisted by a few compassionate friends, silently committed them to the earth. Her daughter was torn from her arms, and worse than buried in a Turkish harem. Widowed, childless, desolate, the fallen Empress, having suffered the saddest changes of public fortune and the most harrowing and heart-breaking of private calamities, — like some doomed heroine of one of the tragic families of antiquity, — passed the short remainder of her life in mourning and prayer, and then found a welcome refuge in the grave.

These were the transactions by which the Sultan and his Ottoman armies established themselves as a European power. I confess I do not understand how historians can assert, as some of the more recent among them very gravely do, that the change from the Byzantine Emperors to the Ottoman Sultans was a benefit to Greece. It is true, that the Greeks of the Lower Empire had become degenerate and corrupt; that their government was a despotism, and their Church overgrown with superstition. But society was still organized on a Christian basis; law, however imperfectly administered, still bound the members of society into a political union; and education, though fallen off from its ancient excellence, was still

looked upon as a duty by public authorities and private citizens. The private man, with his family, was sheltered from arbitrary violence; his children could not be forced away from him to the gilded miseries and moral death of the seraglio. The force and energy of the early Sultans, and their occasional generosity, impose upon our imaginations, when contrasted with the feeble characters that so often disgust us in the Byzantine Greeks. We feel the baseness of that indifference to country which left Constantinople to be defended by the last of the Emperors and a handful of men. We abhor the bigotry which, at the fatal moment, forgot the despairing cries of a perishing capital, to wrangle upon senseless questions of polemic theology. But still that last of the Emperors and that handful of men stood up bravely in the midst of falling battlements and streaming blood, against a host they knew they could not resist; and the Emperor, firm to his duty and unshrinking in his resolution, closed the long line of his royal race by a glorious death for his country. The old Hellenic spirit had not yet been extinguished in the Constantines.

Before quitting the long Byzantine period, permit me to say a parting word upon the literature with which these centuries are signalized, if not adorned. The literature of this period consists of, first, the writings of the Christian Fathers, secondly, the Byzantine Historians; and thirdly, the Poets, who, however, in some cases are the same persons that constitute the other classes, but who may be again classified in two subdivisions, of religious and secular poets. To these may be added a few romance-writers, belonging to the early part of the period from the fourth to the ninth century.

We have already, in considering another topic, observed the fresh impulse imparted by Christianity to eloquence in the sermons of the fathers of the Church, at the head of whom stands the great and fervid Johannes Chrysostomus. The best of the religious writings have come from the earliest periods. Irenæus, Clemens, Origen, Eusebius, Athanasius, and Chrysostomus belong to the first four centuries. From this time

to the twelfth century the writers of the Church neither have the same authority, nor are considered as possessing equal literary merit, with their predecessors.

The Byzantine historians extend from the fourth nearly to the sixteenth century, if we include the few who wrote after the capture of Constantinople. These writers furnish the immense mass of materials of which Gibbon made so admirable use in his unequalled History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. The most convenient edition is the octavo reprint, projected, and in part superintended, by Niebuhr, and still in progress. I have read only a portion of these writers: their works fill some fifty or more volumes. They are quite aside from the usual range of classical studies, and are generally neglected. But some of them were men of literary accomplishments, honorable characters, and large experience in affairs. None of them, so far as my reading has extended, equal the Attic historians in the high qualities of natural and lucid style. But some of them are clear, accurate, instructive, and interesting. Others, in striving to acquire a factitious elegance, become pompous and inflated. Some aim at the antique manner, and grow affected; others, writing in the language of their times, fall into the corrupt forms of the vulgar Byzantine Greek; and others, finally, are marked by all the peculiarities of idiom and construction which belong to the spoken Greek of the present day. In passages from the best, we often find vivid description and stirring eloquence; in the worst, a uniform tediousness almost preternatural.

Zosimus wrote on the decline and fall of the Roman Empire in a style clear and concise; but being a Pagan, he is described by Photius as "impious in religion, and howling against the pious." Procopius lived in the sixth century, and is conspicuous for having been the secretary of Belisarius, whom he accompanied in his wars. In literary ability he was, perhaps, the best of all the Byzantine historians, and his style makes a nearer approach than that of any other among them to the classic models. He wrote the history of the wars with the

Persians, Vandals, and Goths, besides other works, particularly a scandalous chronicle of the court. Agathias, a lawyer and scholar of the same century, besides love-poems which are lost, wrote a continuation of the history of Procopius, in a somewhat bombastic style. In the next two centuries there is little that claims attention. It was an evil time for literature. In the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries there was more literary activity, if not a revival of letters. The ninth century was adorned by the learning of Leo of Thessalonica, whose scientific attainments caused him to be invited to Bagdad by the Khaliff Al-Mamoun. This remarkable man invented a mode of telegraphic communication, by means of signal fires, to announce particular events according to the hours. In the tenth century reigned the lauded and excellent Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who, besides being a connoisseur in art, wrote many important works on history and administration, and labored assiduously to encourage literature, and to improve the education of the times. The greatest name in the eleventh century is that of Michael Psellus, who was the prodigy of his age. The Emperor gave him the title of Prince of Philosophers. His works were on the most extraordinary variety of subjects, — theological, philosophical, mathematical, legal, — one being on the operation of demons. Many of them still remain unpublished. The style is said to be perspicuous, elegant, and worthy of a better age.

To the twelfth century belong Anna Comnena, and her husband, Nicephorus Bryennius. This illustrious pair present a pleasing picture of happiness and literary accomplishment, and deserve to be dwelt upon for a moment. Bryennius was a Greek nobleman, of a family distinguished for its antiquity and for the many high places which had been held by its members. He became the confidential friend and adviser of the Emperor Alexis Comnenus, immediately upon his accession to the throne. As a mark of his respect, the Emperor created a new title, Panhypersebastos, — *all-superlatively-august*, — and, what was still more to the purpose, bestowed on him the hand

of his beautiful daughter, Anna Comnena, who was distinguished equally for the graces of her person and for her intellectual accomplishments. Bryennius took a leading part in the wars of the age, and was one of the most skilful diplomatists at the imperial court. His various talents and his affable manners made him so great a favorite, that his ambitious wife endeavored, but without success, to persuade her father to name him his successor; and the only serious censure chargeable upon his life is, that he listened to her suggestion, and endeavored to deprive his young brother-in-law of the crown on the death of Alexis. On his failure in this attempt, his estates were confiscated, and he and his wife were banished to Œnoe, on the Black Sea, where they lived in retirement for several years. He was, however, restored to favor, and died soon afterward, in 1137, at Constantinople. The peculiar interest of the period in which he lived arises from the circumstance that the Crusades at this time brought the Western and Eastern powers into contact and collision; and it was by his prudent counsels that the Emperor was chiefly guided in the first differences between himself and the crusading princes. Bryennius wrote a history, in four books, of the events of which he had been a contemporary and in great part an eyewitness. He left it incomplete, covering a period of a little more than twenty years, from about 1057 to 1078, — intending to bring it down so as to include the reign of Alexis, but being interrupted by death. "This mighty task," says he to his mother-in-law, the Empress, "thou, my wisest intellect and inspiration, hast laid upon me; thou hast commanded me to write the deeds of Alexis the Great, who, having fallen on troubled times, and assuming the power when the affairs of the Empire were fallen to the earth, raised them up and reinstated them in their greatest glory. ....I dare not presume to write his history, or to compose a eulogy on him; for this scarcely would the power of Thucydides and the eloquence of Demosthenes suffice. I undertake only to furnish the means to those who desire to celebrate his deeds; and therefore let this work be called the materials

of history." Notwithstanding the modest estimate he professes to entertain of his own ability, his work is written in a very manly style, and shows the experience of a person versed in affairs, and the calm and cool judgment of the philosophic statesman.

Anna Comnena was considerably younger than her husband, having been born in 1083. She was celebrated as the loveliest woman in the highest society of Constantinople; and her accomplishments in literature were no less the admiration of the scholars, philosophers, and poets by whom she was surrounded. The domestic happiness she enjoyed is certainly a remarkable and bright spot in the abounding degeneracy of the age. Her married life lasted more than forty years, and the only interruption to its felicity was its close by the death of her husband. Her palace was the resort of the literary men and of the most brilliant society, and the centre of the art and science of Constantinople for many years. She survived her husband, and worthily employed the remainder of her life in finishing the task he had left incomplete at his death. It is the Life of her father Alexis, — under the name of the Alexiad; and, though abounding in rhetorical faults, it is a work of deep interest. She writes with the particularity of a daughter, and — I must add — with a good deal of the vanity of a blue-stocking, — presenting in this respect a strong contrast to the simple and honest style of her husband. For him she cherished the most unbounded affection as long as she lived. She describes him as a man surpassing in personal beauty, fineness of understanding, and eloquence of speech all that lived in his time, as a wonder to look at and listen to, and in all respects a most distinguished person. She then recounts the circumstances under which he began his history, and its interruption by his death, — "a misfortune to the subject," she adds, "and the loss of much pleasure to the readers. What harmony and what grace were in his words, those know best who were most familiar with his writings." She attributes his death to his unceasing labors, and his exposure during the long campaigns

in which he had served. In writing these things, her soul, she says, is wrung with sorrow, and her eyes fill with tears, as she recalls to memory the graces of his person and the gifts of his mind, worthy of a higher than royal dignity. Her affliction would move the hardest heart to sympathy. But she wipes her tears, and commences her task.

The work is certainly a remarkable illustration of the literary culture of the twelfth century, and proves, what has before been stated, that the women of the higher classes were carefully trained in literary discipline. The narrative is generally clear, though at times a little too ambitious and turgid; and the period embraced by the work is of commanding interest, especially the latter part, which comprehends the Crusades. It has something of the spirit of hero-worship and self-worship; and when she enlarges on her own accomplishments, one is tempted to smile. But remembering that she was an Emperor's daughter, and surrounded through a long life by the adulations of a luxurious court, that she was beautiful beyond her contemporaries, and that amidst all these dangerous influences she kept the purity of her character untainted, exhibited a lofty example of domestic virtue, and cherished with undiminished ardor the common affections of daily life, which grace the highest station, while they lend a sanctity to the lowliest, — we may admit that her vanity is pardonable and her pedantry not without excuse. A few sentences will show the style into which she rose, when she aimed at being particularly fine. It is fair to say that the whole book is by no means in this vein.

"Time, rolling on irresistibly and forever, whirls and sweeps away all existing things, and sinks them in the depths of oblivion, where lie both those of little worth and those which are great and deserving of remembrance, — or, as the tragedy hath it, brings to light the hidden things, and hides those that are conspicuous. But the word of history is the strongest dike against the stream of time, and checks its mighty current, binding up and holding together what is therein, that it may not

glide down into the depths of Lethe. Knowing this, I, Anna, daughter of the imperial Alexis and Eirene, child and nursling of the purple, not unskilled in letters, but accomplished in the Greek to the highest perfection, — not unpractised in rhetoric, but having carefully read the treatises of Aristotle and the Dialogues of Plato, — and having strengthened my intellect by the quaternion of the sciences, (for it is my duty, and not a matter of self-glorification, to set forth those qualifications which either nature or the study of the sciences has given me, or God has bestowed on me from above, or occasion has contributed,) — I, Anna, desire, in this my composition, to narrate the deeds of my father, undeserving to be betrayed to forgetfulness, or swept away by the stream of time into the ocean of oblivion."

Compare this with the modest sentences I read from Bryennius, and the difference is certainly curious; but when we come to read the two works, we find that his is much better than he thought it, and hers much better than the above specimen of her style would lead us to expect; and that the husband and wife stand out from their age, forming a picture not without its beauty and interest, and far superior to anything we know of in the contemporary chivalry of Western Europe.

I will mention only one more of these writers, Laonicus Chalcocondyles, who belongs to the fifteenth century. Very few incidents of his life have been preserved, except that he was a native of Athens, was employed by the Emperor John Palæologus VII. as ambassador to Amurath II. in 1446, that he probably lived till towards the end of the century, and consequently witnessed the downfall of Constantinople, the conquest of Greece, and perhaps the overthrow of Trebizond by the Turks. He seems to have remained in Constantinople, or to have returned after the Sultan had introduced some degree of order into the affairs of the capital; and he formed one of the small circle of literary men who still kept up the spirit of ancient scholarship. He wrote a work, in ten books, on the history of the Turks, from their origin down to the conquests

of Mahomet II.; and the best critics have pronounced it eminently worthy of credit. He was a wise and sound judge of affairs, and a scholar of great and various learning; and his work is one of the best sources of materials for the history of the decline of the Greek Empire. His style is not perfectly simple, but affects too much the classical phraseology of antiquity. We feel the labor of the writer a little more than we could wish; but he is perspicuous, and in many places exceedingly interesting and animated. He introduces here and there curious episodes about the condition and character of the Western nations, sometimes correct, and always worthy of attention as coming from an Athenian writer of the fifteenth century. Germany, France, and England are described with some minuteness of detail; and it may not be without use to hear a part of what he says concerning the land of our fathers. After describing the geographical position and political arrangements of the British Isles, he says: "The king could not easily take away his principality from any one of the great lords, nor would they submit to him contrary to their own usages. The kingdom has suffered many calamities from civil wars. The island does not produce wine nor many fruits; but it bears corn and barley and honey. They have the most beautiful wool in the world, so that they weave immense quantities of cloth. They speak a language that resembles no other; neither German, nor French, nor that of any of the surrounding nations. They have a custom throughout the island, that, when a visitor enters the house of a friend, the wife receives him with a kiss, as a preliminary to the hospitalities of the house. The city of London is the most powerful and prosperous of all the cities in these islands, and inferior to none in the West; and in the martial valor of its inhabitants it is superior to all who live towards the setting sun." He gives many other particulars, but these are the most characteristic. He evidently did not understand the English language, and probably was mistaken as to some of the customs of the country, or they have changed since his day; but his notices of the industry

and martial virtues of the English people show that the present generation inherit honestly the qualities that have made them the foremost power in the world.

In an historical point of view, the most striking part of this very interesting work is the minute, graphic, and vivid description, in the eighth book, of the capture and sack of Constantinople. It seems to me far more affecting than the stately picture which Gibbon has given of this great event; because it evinces that sense of its reality which an eyewitness of so tremendous a tragedy must forever retain, and that profound sympathy with its horrors and sufferings which a patriot and a victim cannot but feel whenever he calls up the image of so dire a catastrophe; and when he says at the conclusion, "Such were the events that befell the Greeks of Byzantium, and this disaster appears to me to surpass in woe all that have ever happened in the world," he carries the reader along with him, and we close the book with a feeling of pity and terror which the downfall of a nation ought always to inspire.

The poetical character of this period is not without its attraction; but there is not much to detain us long. Of the religious poetry the best and most elegant is that of Synesius, from the first of whose ten extant hymns I read an extract in a former course. The second — a morning hymn — begins thus: —

> "Again the light, again the morning,
> Again the day abroad is shining,
> After the nightly wandering shade.
> Again, my soul, thy prayer lift up
> In morning hymns to God,
> Who gave the light to morning,
> Who gave the stars to evening, —
> The universal choir."

There is a good deal of this poetry scattered through the Christian writings of the following centuries, and it would be worth the scholar's while to make it the subject of special investigation. Passing over about four centuries, to the time of Theodore Studita, from whose *Diatheke* I read an extract in

the last Lecture, we find a considerable change in the tone of religious poetry. The monastic system had now firmly established itself throughout Eastern Europe; and the virtues of monastic life occupied a high place in the scale of Christian graces. This good monk, with many other writings, left one hundred and twenty-four short pieces, mostly written in iambic measure, but with no great regard to the ancient laws of quantity. It appears from one of these that he had been a husband and a father, but that he and his wife were both so impressed with the duty of devoting themselves wholly to the service of God, that they had separated, and, with their children, had consecrated themselves to ascetic piety. In the poem referred to, written after her death, the highest praise he bestows upon her is that she agreed with her husband to suffer divorce for Christ's sake, and to embrace the monastic life. He wrote inscriptions for monasteries and for pictures of saints, of which he was a fervent advocate; epitaphs on the dead, full of pious ejaculations; lines addressed to the rich, to the poor, to the worldly, to travellers, to the various servitors in the monastery. The cook is exhorted to season his dishes with prayers for sauce, that he may share in Jacob's benediction; the tailors, or wardrobe-keepers, are told in iambics to see to it that they perform their duty faithfully, that they may receive requital due from God, the Giver; the waiter at table is bidden to imagine that he is ministering to the Apostles. Equally apposite instructions are bestowed on early wakers. The shoemakers are charged to labor as becomes the workmen of Christ, — to cut their leather decently, to repair old shoes and stitch together new, and not to indulge in idle talk. The best poem of this class, perhaps, is an inscription over an inn, or reception-room for strangers, extending large and hospitable invitation to the wearied passers-by, and asking, in return for

> "The wholesome bread that nourishes the heart,
> The sweet wine flowing so abundantly,
> The garment shielding from the rigid cold,
> Which Christ, my Master, gave from affluent stores,"

only the traveller's prayers that the host may be received into Abraham's bosom. There are touching lines in some of the epitaphs, such as these on a pious lady: —

> "The ornament she wore, a lowly heart;
> Her precious pearls, the flowing tears she shed.
> With sleepless eye, and prayer to light her way,
> She dwells in joy forever with the just"; —

or these on Eirene, — a name which signifies peace: —

> "Sacred the spot, Eirene's tomb is here,
> Whose life was guided to the God of Peace."

Many of these verses are decidedly prosaic both in thought and in expression; but the religious tone that runs through them is characteristic of the author and of his age.

LECTURE VII.

BYZANTINE SCHOLARSHIP. — GREECE UNDER THE TURKS.

The fall of Constantinople sent a shock throughout the Christian nations of Western Europe. Thoughtful men must have felt that bigotry, combining with the lust of conquest and the savage greed for plunder, on the part of Western Christendom, had helped forward this great catastrophe. The capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders had destroyed the most precious memorials of ancient art and wealth in the city, exhausted its resources, broken down its martial energy, and divided the Empire into fragments for the benefit of their own princes, expelling the native rulers who had so long sat upon the throne; and when, sixty years later, they were themselves driven back from a conquest they had wrongfully held, the Emperors of Constantinople resumed an empire shorn of its power and splendor not only by Saracens and Turks, but more fatally still by Christians of another branch of one common faith; so that, when the final struggle came, the only wonder was, that a capital over which conflagration and plunder had so often swept resisted so long and with so much spirit a people in the full impulse of their march towards extended empire.

The possession of Constantinople seemed to throw Hungary, Italy, and Germany open to invasion; and the spiritual and temporal powers were greatly and justly alarmed at the threatening consequences of what they had themselves allowed to be done. The Pope endeavored in vain to combine the nations of Europe for the expulsion of the Turks. War was actually declared in the Diet at Frankfort, in 1454; but this was all. Pius II. convened a Congress at Mantua in 1459; and the

princes of Europe agreed to furnish large means for the Crusade, which the Pope was to lead in person; but when the head of the Church arrived at Ancona to embark, he found that every promise and engagement had been violated, and none were there except a rabble of vagabonds, clamoring for service and pay. So the late-formed plans of repairing the error which was now threatening the peace of Europe utterly failed. The danger, however, proved less than had been anticipated. Mahomet II. met with gallant resistance from the Hungarians, and was repulsed by the Knights of St. John from the island of Rhodes. In the mountains of Epeirus the heroic chieftain whose exploits were sung by all his contemporaries under the name of Scanderbeg kept him at bay for twenty years. The successors of Mahomet were inferior to him in martial vigor; and thus the tide of Ottoman conquests was at least temporarily stayed, and the alarm of Europe somewhat quieted.

From the downfall of the Western Roman Empire, and especially after the alienation of the Greek and Latin Churches, the influence of Greek literature had been decaying, until almost all knowledge of it had died out in the West. Only here and there a name is mentioned among the few who kept alive a love of letters in Europe, as having some tincture of Grecian learning. In the East, libraries of manuscripts, formed by the labors of centuries, were to be found, not only in the schools of public instruction, but in the monasteries. The ancient classics had been multiplied in parchment copies, carefully and handsomely transcribed by the inmates of these institutions; but many of these perished in the successive plunderings of the capital; and the final loss of a large proportion of the most precious treasures of ancient genius is to be traced to the barbarous conduct of the Crusaders, whose very names Anna Comnena thought it an insult to the Greek language to record, and of the Ottomans, whose agency was scarcely more destructive. But before either of these pillaging enterprises took place, now and then an individual found his way from the

schools of Constantinople, with a supply of Greek literature, and, establishing himself in the West, communicated his treasures to a little circle of pupils and friends. As early as the seventh century the Pope sent to England a Greek ecclesiastic, born at Tarsus, who became Archbishop of Canterbury, and, having carried with him a goodly number of manuscripts, introduced some knowledge of Greek into the Anglo-Saxon Church. The venerable Bede and Alcuin are bright names among the earliest restorers of learning; and Erigena and other Irish ecclesiastics knew something even of the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle. In 1240, John Basing, Archdeacon of St. Albans, brought a number of Greek books from Athens; and Roger Bacon was not ignorant of the Greek language.

But during the Middle Ages these studies were more assiduously cultivated in Italy, as might have been expected, than in any other country out of the Byzantine Empire. Particularly, from the eleventh century, many individuals are marked in literary history for their knowledge of Greek, — not very extensive, to be sure, but still worth something. Among these, for instance, Papias is classed on the strength of a quotation of five lines from Hesiod. But the revival of Greek studies in Italy properly dates from the time of Petrarch and Boccaccio, in the fourteenth century. Italy was visited by many Greek ecclesiastics, who adhered to the Roman pontiff in the quarrel between the two Churches; and there are to this day, both in Ancona and in Rome, Greek churches with a Greek liturgy, but acknowledging the supreme authority of the Pope. Several learned Calabrians, about this time, after having long resided in Greece, had much to do with the introduction of the Greek language among the scholars and poets of Italy. Barlaam, sent as ambassador by the Emperor to Italy, endeavored to teach Petrarch Greek; but whether the poet was too much absorbed in his fantastic passion for Laura, and in the composition of those tiresome sonnets which every one thinks it his duty to praise and few have the patience to read, it is certain, from his own confession, that the tuneful poet never

advanced far enough to read Homer in the original, which he pathetically laments, and for which he richly deserved the wholesome administration of the birch. Boccaccio had better success with Leontius Pilatus, for whom he procured the appointment of public teacher at Florence, although he describes him as long-haired, hirsute-bearded, and very dirty. About the end of the fourteenth century, Manuel Chrysoloras, a man of high rank and distinguished in the diplomacy of the Byzantine Empire, was induced to emigrate to Italy, and taught the Greek language and literature in several of the principal cities. Among his scholars were the most eminent Italian men of letters. In 1423, two hundred and thirty-eight manuscripts, including Plato, Diodorus, Pindar, Callimachus, and others, were brought from Greece to Italy by a Sicilian named Aurispa. Filelfo, a scholar well known in literary history in the same age, not only brought home from Greece a large number of manuscripts, but became Professor of Greek and Latin at Florence, exciting, as he himself says, the wonder and admiration of the whole city. "All love me," continued the self-complacent professor, "all honor me, and exalt me to the skies with their praises. When I walk through the city, not only the first citizens, but the noblest ladies, yield me the pass to show in what high honor they hold me. I have daily more than four hundred hearers; and these, for the most part, distinguished persons and of senatorial rank."

As the dangers that threatened the overthrow of the Greek Empire drew nearer, emigration to Italy became more frequent. Theodore Gaza, well known in Greek philology, fled from Thessalonica in 1430, when that city was taken by the Turks. Bessarion of Trebizond was made a cardinal in 1439, twice was nearly elected Pope, and, having been employed in many high functions, received from the Pope, who affected to consider himself sole head of the Church, the titular dignity of Patriarch of Constantinople. He was a great promoter of Greek literature; and, wherever he lived, his home was the resort of all those who cultivated the sciences and the arts.

In 1468 he presented his magnificent library to the republic of Venice, and the famous Aldine editions of the classics are founded chiefly on the manuscripts it contained. Here, too, the manuscript of Panaretos, mentioned in a former Lecture, was found by Professor Fallmerayer. George of Trebizond taught Greek at Vicenza, Venice, and Rome. Johannes Argyropoulos, a native of Constantinople, arrived in Italy in 1434, and was called by the Medici to Florence in 1456. He went to Paris to solicit the assistance of the king of France in purchasing his family, who had fallen into the hands of the Turks. He taught Greek for fifteen years at Florence, and afterwards for some time at Rome. Here, the celebrated Reuchlin being present at one of his lectures on Thucydides, the old Professor invited the young German to interpret a passage of the historian. He was so much astonished at the facility with which Reuchlin accomplished the task, that he exclaimed, "Exiled Greece has crossed the Alps." Gemistus Pletho, a man of the highest rank at the imperial court, of great learning and probity of character, and a voluminous writer, went to Florence as a deputy of the Greek Church in 1438, where he became acquainted with Cosmo de' Medici, and during his residence there opened a school for the explanation of the Platonic philosophy, of which he was an ardent and eloquent advocate. Cosmo embraced his views, and Platonism became the fashion of the literary people of that capital. The Platonic Academy, which produced many eminent scholars, owes its origin to Pletho. He afterwards returned to Greece, and died in the Peloponnesus, at the age, it is supposed, of about a hundred years. These few names will serve to show that the literary tendencies of Italy were favorable to progress, and that the diplomatic intercourse between the Churches of Rome and Byzantium, the interchange of visits among the literary men of the two countries, and the introduction of numerous manuscripts from Greece and Constantinople into the chief Italian cities, had made a great and almost providential preparation for those Greek scholars, who, having witnessed the downfall of

their political and religious capital, and the extinction of their nationality, in slavery and blood, fled westward, and carried with them the light of the East.

Of course, the number of Greek refugees was very considerable after the fall of Constantinople. Constantine Lascaris, belonging to one of the imperial families, became instructor of the Princess Hippolyta, daughter of Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan. Afterward he taught in several of the Italian cities, and finally died at Messina, having bequeathed his library to that city. It was afterwards transported to Spain, and now forms part of the collection of the Escorial. Another Lascaris, a relative of Constantine, was employed by Lorenzo de' Medici in collecting books in the East, and was afterwards distinguished at the courts of Charles VIII. and Louis XII. in France. When Leo X. was raised to the Papal throne, he placed Lascaris at the head of a college which he had founded at Rome for the education of Greeks. The Pope, in a letter addressed to Francis I., describes Lascaris as a man distinguished for his illustrious birth, his literary acquirements, his experience in affairs, the purity of his morals, and the gentleness of his manners. He died at Rome, at the age of ninety. Demetrius Chalcocondyles, an Athenian, and perhaps a relative of the historian, taught Greek at Perugia and Florence, and afterwards removed to Milan. Other distinguished names are those of Michael Apostolius, Callistus, and Masurus, Professor of Greek at Padua, where he knew Erasmus, who speaks of him as wonderfully learned in the Latin tongue,—afterward, at Venice, an assistant of the elder Aldus in the publication of his beautiful editions. Moschus, a Lacedæmonian, son of an old teacher who continued at Sparta after the catastrophe of 1453, was Professor of Greek at Ferrara and Mantua, and wrote a poem on the story of Helen. In the same century the Greek language was taught in Paris by Hermonymus of Sparta, and other scholars of the same nation. In 1474 Contablacus opened a school in Basle. The scholars of Germany, hearing of the literary excitement produced by these Greeks, hastened

over into Italy, became their pupils, and purchased many books, with which they enriched the libraries of their native land. The most eminent of these was Reuchlin, one of the ablest, if not the ablest, among the restorers of learning in Germany; but his name is now chiefly known from its connection with the controversy that once raged on the pronunciation of the Greek.

Now, I think that a race which, at the very moment of its fall, was capable of enlightening the world, whose services were eagerly sought by the most illustrious cities and rulers among the rising nations of modern Europe, which laid the foundation of the rich culture since developed in Italy, Germany, France, and England, is entitled to more respectful treatment than the Greeks of the Byzantine Empire usually receive from historians. For the second time in the history of civilization, the arts and letters that embellish life were scattered by the Greeks over the world, after a tremendous national catastrophe; and for the second time the recipient world, having eagerly availed itself of the proffered benefactions, requited the unfortunate race from which the benefactions came with the most unmeasured denunciations, insomuch that the very name of Greek became synonymous with all that is mean, treacherous, and false. I confess I cannot so read the history of the Byzantine Empire. Its rulers, bad as they were, were better than their contemporaries in the West. Its arts, declining as they were, were superior to the arts of the West. Its historians, with all their faults, were quite beyond measure better in the qualities of literary skill, political experience, and manly judgment than the rude chroniclers of the West. The Church of the East, far as it had fallen from the simple purity of the apostolic times, yet in doctrine and practice bore a favorable comparison with the Church of the West; and, retaining as it did the very language of the New Testament, teaching the very words of the sacred writers, and opposing no obstacle to the general study of those blessed records, it evidently stood on a higher ground, in some very important respects, than its Latin rival and enemy.

It was mentioned in the last Lecture that, at the time when Mahomet II. invaded the Peloponnesus, the Venetians were still in possession of some places on the Peninsula. They held, in fact, Pylos, Corone, Methone, Nauplia, and Argos, besides the Ionian Islands, Naupactus, Eubœa, and Crete. The Venetians and Turks soon engaged in a desperate struggle, temporarily suspended by the armistice of 1478, which lasted about twenty years, into the reign of Mahomet's son and successor, Bajazet. The condition of the Greeks during these destructive wars was unsettled in the extreme. Many places in Greece changed masters frequently during this period. Sometimes the Greeks took part with the Christians in the struggle; and when the Christians were conquered, of course the Greeks suffered the most barbarous treatment at the hands of the Turks. If they remained neutral, the heaviest calamities of the war fell upon them. By degrees the Turks obtained possession of Greece, and of the islands, except those along the western coast which now constitute the Ionian Republic. Eubœa was conquered in 1470; Rhodes, in 1522, by the Sultan Solyman I. In 1570, Selim II. took Cyprus. The celebrated battle of Lepanto, or Naupactus, was fought between the confederated fleets of the Pope, the king of Spain, and the Venetian Republic, amounting to two hundred sail, and the Turkish fleet of three hundred. "For many hours," says an old writer, "diverse and doubtful was the whole face of the battle. As fortune offered unto every man his enemy, so he fought. According as every man's disposition put him into courage or fear, or as he met with more or fewer enemies, so was there here and there sometimes victory and sometimes loss. The chance of war in one place lifteth up the vanquished, and in another overthroweth the victorious: all was full of terror, error, sorrow, and confusion." After five hours of desperate fighting, the Turks yielded, and the triumph of the allies was complete. One hundred and thirty galleys were taken, while the rest of the hostile ships were dashed upon the rocks, sunk in the sea, or consumed by fire. Thirty-five hundred men were

taken prisoners, and twenty-five thousand fell in the battle. Had the Christian powers followed up this great victory, they might probably have driven the Turks back into Asia; but they neglected to pursue their advantage, and in the following year the Sultan Selim was able to put to sea again with two hundred and twenty sail. The allies abandoned all further efforts, and Venice made peace, surrendering to him the kingdom of Cyprus and several fortresses in Epeirus. A contemporary remarked that the destruction of the Turkish fleet was merely cutting off the Sultan's beard, which a few days would restore; while the surrender of Cyprus was the amputation of an arm from Venice, which time could neither reproduce nor remedy.

Greece was now incorporated, without further struggle, into the Turkish Empire, and placed at the disposal of Turkish governors. In 1670, the Turks conquered from the Venetians, after a war of nearly thirty years, the important island of Crete, at an expense of two hundred thousand men and a hundred millions of golden crowns; but in the reign of the same Sultan, Mahomet IV., in the year 1684, the Turks having received a great defeat at Vienna, the Venetians joined the Christian League, and Morosini, having the command of a powerful fleet, attacked and reduced Santa Maura and Prevesa, and in the following year commenced his operations against the Turks in the Morea. The most important ports, Pylos, Methone, and at last Nauplia, one after the other capitulated. During these movements the Greeks generally flew to arms, eager to throw off the Turkish yoke. In the course of two years, Morosini reconquered the whole Peloponnesus, with the aid of the Greeks; and on the 21st of September, 1687, following up his successes, he sailed into the harbor of Peiræus, and, immediately landing without opposition, marched to Athens and took possession of the city. The Turks protected themselves in the Acropolis, and refused to surrender. Batteries were raised on the neighboring heights of the Museum and the Pnyx, and the bombardment of the Acropolis commenced on

the 26th. Unfortunately, the Turks had stored their ammunition in the Parthenon, and a bomb, falling into the magazine, threw down all the central portion of that wonderful work, which had, up to that time, remained in a good state of preservation, with the greater part of the sculptures which adorned the tympana, the metopes, and the frieze of the cella. The firing continued for several days longer; but at last, all the wooden buildings of the Acropolis having been consumed by a great conflagration, the garrison held out a flag of truce. The Turks, with their wives and children, were allowed five days to prepare for their departure. Three thousand left the place; but it is said by Sir Paul Rycaut that three hundred Turks, rather than quit Athens, chose to abjure Mahometanism, and were baptized into the Catholic Church. The Venetians retained possession of Athens only for a few months, the admiral needing his troops elsewhere.

But these brilliant successes had no permanent result. Venetians and Turks were alike wearied with the war; and in 1699 the peace of Carlowitz left only the Peloponnesus in the possession of the Republic. The conquest of the Morea was the last triumph of the Venetians; and this was due to the genius of Morosini, who thence received the designation of the Peloponnesian.

While the Venetians hardly endeavored to secure what they had gained, the Turks made vast preparations to recover the conquered country. In 1715, the Grand Vizier of Achmet III. burst into the Peloponnesus with an army of a hundred thousand men, supported by a fleet of a hundred sail; and notwithstanding the efforts of the Knights of Malta and the Grand Duke of Tuscany to assist the Venetians in the defence of Greece, Delfino, who had been left in command, was compelled to abandon the Morea. The Turks, advancing upon Corinth, butchered on the spot one half of the capitulating garrison, reserving the remainder to be executed under the walls of Nauplia, within sight of the Venetians. Argos was recovered without striking a blow. Nauplia was

betrayed, the city and fortress entered at midnight, and the inhabitants put to the sword. In 1718, the peace of Passarowitz surrendered the whole of Greece again to Turkey; and so she remained enslaved, with scarcely a movement towards emancipation, until the revolution which commenced in 1821.

In organizing his newly conquered territories, Mahomet II. divided them into military departments, called Pachalics; these again were subdivided into Moussemlics, Agalics, and Vaivodalics; and these were subject to a supreme magistrate entitled Rumeli Valesi, or Grand Judge of Roumelia. The Pachas were, like the satraps of the old Persian Empire, quite independent of one another, and often engaged in mutual hostilities for purposes of conquest or plunder. The number of Pachalics in Greece differed at different times; and in some parts of the country, on account of its mountainous character and the spirit of the inhabitants, it was never possible to establish the Turkish system thoroughly. Some towns and small districts were governed by Beys, Agas, and Vaivodes. About 1812 there were five Pachalics, the chief of which was that of Joannina, or Albania, under the government of the celebrated Ali Pacha, including Epeirus, Acarnania, Ætolia, Phocis, the greater part of Thessaly, and the western portions of Macedonia and Bœotia, uniting territories which at an earlier period had constituted five or six Pachalics. Attica and Lebadeia were each under the command of a Vaivode. Zagora was under the administration of a Greek Primate; the north of Macedonia was broken up into numerous Agalics; the Morea, with the exception of Maina, was under the Pacha of Tripolizza, with eight or nine Beys, and other inferior chiefs, subordinate to him. The principal islands and some of the coast-districts were under the Capitan Pacha, who visited them annually to collect their tribute; the others were in the hands of the Divan, or belonged to some of the Pachalics.

The tenure of landed estates was entirely changed; the property being vested in the Sultan as the head of the state, and only a life interest remaining to the occupant. This at once

reduced the whole population to the condition of tenants of the crown, with the exception of a few of the old families in the Morea, which were suffered to retain their property on the payment of large tributes. The whole system of administration, if that could be called a system whose only principles were rapacity, corruption, and venality, was one which tended inevitably to the extinction of every manly trait in the character of the people. It has always been characteristic of the Turks to make the most of the moment, utterly regardless of the future. Plunder and extortion have marked their course from the first establishment of the Empire down to the present time; and the consequence is, that, while possessing the finest and most productive countries in the world, they have succeeded in wasting their resources, diminishing their population, and reducing extensive regions to deserts. The Pachas of Greece, as well as of other provinces in the Empire, purchased their places by the payment of large sums into the imperial treasury; the Porte usually bestowing the office on the highest bidder. They accordingly indemnified themselves by extortions from their unhappy subjects. Besides this, they were obliged to contribute a large amount annually to the revenues of the Empire. Says D'Arvieux, a French writer: "The viceroys, local governors, and other officers of the Ottoman Empire are farmers of revenues, and are obliged to remit the sums agreed upon to the Grand Vizier, under pain of sending their own heads to the imperial treasury. No excuse is received; the money must be forthcoming, even if there is none; and as their life and fortune depend on their punctuality in paying, they resort to every means of accomplishing the end."

In their provinces the power of the Pachas was absolute, and their state was maintained with Oriental pomp. They usually acquired enormous wealth, by means of the variety of taxes and extortions they could with impunity enforce. Ali Pacha's dominion extended over four hundred villages, and his annual income was about one million of dollars. The Beys and Agas exercised a similar authority. The only restraint

upon these powerful chieftains was the probability of the bowstring whenever they fell under the displeasure of the Porte, or when it became desirable to recruit an exhausted treasury by confiscating the ill-gotten wealth of an overgrown Pacha. The Christian population of the conquered territory were obliged to pay a life tax called the *haratch*, which was regarded at first as a composition, or compromise, for the privilege of living, it being the undoubted right of the conqueror to put his captives to death. In some places this tax was paid for children from the moment of birth; in others from a certain age, — five, eight, twelve, or fifteen years. The rate, too, varied. According to Colonel Leake, the tax for a whole family usually amounted to about two pounds sterling; but any individual subject to this impost was liable to frequent and insolent examination in the street, and on failing to produce his legal receipt was forced to pay the tax to the nearest official authority, whether he had paid it before or not. The land tax amounted at different times and places to one twentieth, one twelfth, one tenth, and one seventh of the produce of the soil. At the entrance of every town duties were paid on cattle, provisions, wine, and fire-wood. Various costly restrictions on commerce; composition for exemption from labor on the public works; arbitrary requisitions for the service of the Sultan; one tenth of the value in dispute in legal proceedings; *avanias*, or money exacted from the inhabitants of a district where a crime had been committed, on the ground that they might have prevented it; requisitions to supply a certain proportion of wheat at a nominal price, to be stored up at Constantinople or sold at an enormous profit; — these are but a few of the more prominent forms of extortion practised by the Turkish governors. Says Sir Emerson Tennent: "So undefined was the system of extortion, and so uncontrolled the power of those to whom its execution was intrusted, that the evil spread over the whole system of administration, and insinuated itself with a polypous fertility into every relation and ordinance of society, till there were few actions or occupations of the Greek that were not

burdened with the scrutiny and interference of his masters, and none that did not suffer, in a greater or less degree, from their heartless rapine." The rayahs, or common laboring classes, were reduced to the condition of serfs, subject to every species of oppression, with no prospect or power of improving their condition, but condemned to hopeless slavery and degradation. In the almost endless list of petty occasions on which the most vexatious extortions were practised, some are almost too ridiculous to be mentioned. For example, one source of revenue was called *tooth-money*, to remunerate the Pacha and his suite for the fatigue of eating the food prepared and furnished for them by the Greeks during their journeys for the collection of taxes. The whole amount paid from these various sources has been estimated at nearly two millions sterling, of which it is supposed that about one half reached the treasury.

There was a most cruel tax of one tenth of the male children, who were torn from their parents, subjected to the rites of the Mahometan faith, and employed in various offices, menial or other, according to their ability. This most odious imposition, however, appears to have been abolished in the seventeenth century, during the reign of Amurath IV. Another exaction of a similar character was a levy of a certain number of boys annually, to fill the corps of the janizaries. This terrible pretorian guard of the Sultans was created by Orkan, the second Sultan of the Ottoman dynasty, in the fourteenth century, and consisted at first of young Christians taken captive in war and trained up in the Mahometan faith and discipline of arms. When organized, the troop was blessed by an aged dervish. "The soldiery which you have just created," said he to the sovereign, "shall be *Jani-Tscheri* (new troop); it shall be victorious in every combat; its face shall be white, its arm formidable, its sabre sharp-edged, and its arrow piercing." It became, in the course of time, a formidable power, not only to the Sultan's enemies, but to the Sultan himself. Revolutions were made at the beck of this band; Sultans were enthroned and deposed, according to their licentious will. It

was one of those instruments of despotism which most emphatically turn to plague their inventors. The supply of boys to recruit this body in Greece amounted to about a thousand annually, and was afterwards increased. The imposition was called the παιδομάζωμα, or *child-tax*. This inhuman impost continued to be assessed down to the middle of the seventeenth century; and the whole number of those furnished by Greece alone amounted, according to the estimate of one of the professors in the University of Athens, to little less than five hundred thousand. Afterwards, the recruits were taken from the children of the janizaries. This military organization existed until 1826, when Sultan Mahmoud, finding its power and turbulence obstacles in the way of his projected reforms, resolved on disbanding it, and putting his army on the European footing. Thirty thousand janizaries rose in rebellion. The Sultan, having consulted the highest authorities of the Moslem law, and received their solemn sanction to the measure, unrolled the standard of the Prophet, and rallied all true Moslems to the support of the throne. Fifty thousand men marched against the insurgents, surrounded their barracks in the Hippodrome, set them on fire, and slaughtered those who attempted to escape. So perished by flame and sword a body of men descended from Christian captives, or from children torn by violence from Christian families, forced to remain aliens from the religion of their fathers, and for centuries the instrument and the terror of their tyrants.

The general wretchedness of the Greeks was only modified by the various dispositions of their rulers. The system itself was incurably burdensome and corrupt. The administration of justice was as much degraded by venality as every other department. Industry was abandoned to the servile classes; and commerce was driven from Greece by the brutal oppression of the Turks. Education, almost of necessity, was abandoned; and the people were reduced to the lowest state of poverty, ignorance, and vice. The hard necessities of their lot under this many-headed despotism developed with rank luxu-

riance all the native faults of the Hellenic character. Falsehood, cunning, and treachery were the only arms they were able to wield against the oppressors; and it is no wonder if they lost all sense of moral responsibility under the pressure of such hopeless degradation. Their property at the mercy of tyrannical rulers; their sons liable to be forced into the seraglio or placed among the janizaries; their daughters, if attractive, seized by the Pacha of the moment, and sent to the harem of the Sultan, or of some powerful minister, to win his favor, and secure a continuance of power in the hands of the miscreant;—these are the things which are branded deep in the memory of the Greeks, and have transmitted from generation to generation a profound hatred of the Turks, which it is the policy at present to denounce as absurd, but which, at all events, has more substantial reasons to justify it than the international hostilities of any other European states. It is surprising, not that the Greeks came out of this long trial of four hundred years with many faults of character, but that they came out with any character at all. The favorable treatment extended at Constantinople to some of the Phanariot Greeks, who entered the service of the Ottoman government, and rose to high positions in diplomacy or provincial administration, and the tolerance shown to the religion of the Greeks, as a means of making the Church subordinate to the central government and a source of revenue, so far from being a benefit to the people, only increased their misery by corrupting their natural leaders. Those who were thus indulged grew as oppressive and tyrannical as the Turks themselves; and the Church, which seemed now the only bond of union and preserver of nationality, in its highest places became, like the Pachalics of the Empire, a theatre of venality. To this day the dignity of Patriarch of Constantinople is purchasable of the Divan; and this exalted head of the Christian Church, under Turkish rule, has too often been merely the tool of a Turkish minister.

The Greek islands, being visited by the Turks only periodi-

cally, for the collection of tribute, were much less wretched than the mainland, and much less exposed to the vices of the Turkish system, whether of plundering in general, or of the administration of injustice — it would be a misuse of language to call it justice — in particular. "To sum up all," says a very judicious writer, "the energies of the nation were either cramped in their infancy, or crushed in their maturer development; the course of justice was diverted from its genial channels, or fouled by venality and religious favoritism; the fruits of domestic toil were wrested by local despots and delegated tyrants, or sacked by the unresisted spoiler and the wandering bandit."

Athens at this period, though in a state of degradation, was more fortunate than her neighbors. Mahomet II. visited that city twice in his expeditions into Greece, and seems to have been pleased with the beauty of its ancient remains. As a mark of his good will, he directed that no Bey should reside within the city, in order to save it from the well-known rapacity of the numerous retinue of these governors. At a later period, in the reign of Achmet I., the city was put under the protection of the Kislar Aga, — a chief officer, to whom was intrusted the care of the royal harem; and the government was placed in the hands of three officials called the Vaivoide, the Disdar, and the Cadi, who were appointed by the Kislar Aga. This arrangement continued until the Greek Revolution; and the circumstances to which it owes its origin illustrate one of the kinds of outrage to which even the most favored community was exposed under the rule of the Porte. The story is related by De la Guilletière, a French traveller, who visited Athens in the seventeenth century, after having suffered four years of slavery in Barbary. His companions were two Germans, two Italians, and one English gentleman, — all, he says, learned and curious men. The adventures of this company of early pilgrims to the classical regions of Greece he describes as very curious and interesting. His best chapters are those under the title of Athens, Ancient and Modern. From his account,

the city must have made considerable progress in the century preceding his visit. He writes: "The city consists of at least fifteen or sixteen thousand inhabitants, of whom ten or twelve hundred are Turks. At present, as formerly, the people of both sexes are well shaped and of an excellent contexture, which is the reason why they live to be very old. We attributed much of their vigor to their diet, and their use of honey, which the Athenians use very freely, it being excellently good."

When the worthy traveller inquired of some of the elders the reason why the city had no Sangiac, or Bey, he received the following explanation of the origin of the exemption, from a monk, Damaskinos, — a story which Sir Emerson Tennent has greatly embellished. These are the essential incidents. Among the young Athenian girls was one named Basilia, who surpassed them all in beauty. The fame of her loveliness and transcendent charms reaching the ears of the Turkish officers who were collecting the duties upon children, they seized her in order to send her to Constantinople as a present to the Sultan. Her mother, weeping over her bitterly, and embracing her before she was finally borne away, begged her to be always mindful of her religion and of the calamities of her country. She was torn from parents and home, and, sad and broken-hearted, carried to Constantinople. The uncommon character of her beauty made a deep impression on the Sultan, who surrounded her with all the splendors of the seraglio. But the thoughts of home and the horrors of her position, constantly present to the mind of the Christian maiden, undermined her health. The Sultan saw her wasting away with the deepest anxiety, and redoubled his efforts to restore her to happiness, imploring her to accept the most costly and splendid gifts the imperial treasury could furnish the means of procuring. She rejected them all, but at last summoned courage to address him in behalf of the Kislar Aga, who had shown himself her faithful friend and the friend of her native city. "There is not," said she, "a person in your Majesty's

vast empire to whom I can pay anything more justly than to this Kislar Aga before you. And I know nothing that I can ask for him so properly as the government of the city where I was born. Confer, I beseech you, upon a slave that has been so faithful to your sacred Majesty and your interests the revenue of Athens, and permit him to place under himself such officers as may not abuse your divine authority, as others have done before them, of whose violence and extortions my miserable parents have many times given me sad and deplorable accounts." The request was immediately granted. The Kislar Aga sent a deputy with an express order against rapine and extortion, which order was not only executed then, but, says the narrator, has been observed ever since. A few days afterward Basilia died; but her last moments were consoled with the reflection that she had remembered her mother's parting injunctions, and that her sacrifice of happiness and life had lessened the miseries of her country. The succeeding Sultans continued the government of the Chief of the Seraglio over Athens, which, bad as it was, was preferable to that of Sangiacs, Beys, and Pachas. In reference to this, Lord Byron in the Giaour calls the Athenians

"Slaves, — nay, the bondsmen of a slave."

Such being the general condition of the Greeks, and the relations established between them and their conquerors, it is not very surprising that Greeks and Turks never blended into one homogeneous population, even without the strong repulsion of the two religions, and the unmitigated contempt with which every Mahometan looked down upon all the world outside the pale of Islamism.

A Greek writer, in answer to the question, What preserved the Greeks? answers, — 1. Their pious devotion to the religion of their fathers. 2. The ignorance and intellectual inferiority of the Turks, and the superiority of the Hellenic magistrates, who in some parts of Greece continued, even under the Turks, to direct the affairs of the communities, did much to protect the Greeks from abuses by the Turks, and preserved and

cherished the last traces of the national administration. But the preservation of the national spirit is due chiefly to the fact, that there were some places in Greece which the Turks were never able entirely to subdue. For a long time the Mainotes, in the Peloponnesus, maintained their independence, against both the Venetians and the Turks; and they always enjoyed the right of being governed by a native ruler. The warlike inhabitants of the mountainous regions in the North — Olympus, Pelion, Pindus, and Agrapha — refused to be subjected to the Turks, who found themselves compelled to make terms, and to permit them, on the payment of a trifling tribute, to retain their arms, and to assume the military protection of their native districts. Those who made this partial submission were called *Armatoli*, or Κλέφται ἥμεροι, — *tame Klephts*. They preserved in Greece military habits and the use of arms. At the beginning of the last century, the whole North of Greece was divided into seventeen Armatolics, or Armatolian districts, which acknowledged only a nominal subjection to the Pachas. The chief official was a military leader, who bore the title of Capitanos, or Protatos, and resided in the principal village of his canton. The office was hereditary, descending, with the chieftain's sword, to the oldest son. The members of the corps were called Pallecaria, — *braves*, — a name as famous in modern Greek poetry as *heroes* in the Homeric. The dress of the Pallecaria was very splendid. Their valor, their endurance of fatigue and danger, their well-strung frames, and their wonderful activity, were the theme of the native poets, whose songs almost reproduce the pictures of ancient Homeric times. But besides the Armatoles, there were many proud and daring spirits, who utterly refused to accept any terms, or to make any compromise with the conquerors. They betook themselves to a life of lawless rapine among the inaccessible fastnesses of the mountains. They were organized in companies, under Capitani, and bore the name of ἄγριοι Κλέφται, or simply Κλέφται, — the ancient Κλέπται, or robbers. The term was very far from being one of dishonor; on the contrary, it

had a touch of the heroic, and reminds one of the remarks of Thucydides on the early condition of the Greeks, when a similar estimate was placed on the profession designated by this term. The Klephts maintained themselves in a rude and wild state of independence, seizing every opportunity of rushing down upon the Turkish villages and camps, killing and plundering, and then climbing back to their rocky eyries, before the Turks could rally in pursuit. These classical forays were not always conducted with an exact discrimination between the property of countrymen and aliens, — such was the imperfection of human nature among the Klephtic race; but generally the Klephts exhibited the bravery and generosity of men resolved, if they had nothing else which they could call their own, to enjoy at least their wild liberty. The ballads of the Klephts, of which a few words will be said when I touch upon the language and poetry of Modern Greece, are full of fire, and redolent of the mountain life, which had an irresistible charm for young and adventurous spirits, chafing under the Turkish domination in the lowlands. I give a literal version of one of these from a collection recently published by Zampelios, a Greek gentleman and a native of Leucadia. It illustrates at once the impatient spirit of rebellion against the Turks, and the sweet flow of natural poetry which was ever welling up in the heart of the people. It represents the feelings of a young man, who had resolved to quit his mother's home, and betake himself to the mountains.

"'Mother, I can no longer be a slave to the Turks; I cannot, — my heart fights against it. I will take my gun, and go and become a Klepht; to dwell on the mountains, among the lofty ridges; to have the woods for my companions, and my converse with the beasts; to have the snow for my covering, the rocks for my bed; with sons of the Klephts to have my daily habitation. I will go, mother, and do not weep, but give me thy prayer. And we will pray, my mother dear, that I may slaughter many a Turk. And plant the rose, and plant the dark carnation, and give them sugar and musk to drink.

And as long, O mother mine, as the flowers blossom and put forth, thy son is not dead, but is warring with the Turks. And if a day of sorrow comes, a day of woe, and the plants fade away, and the flowers fall, then I too shall have been slain, and thou must clothe thyself in black.'

"Twelve years passed, and fifteen months, while the roses blossomed, and the buds bloomed; and one spring morning, the first of May, when the birds were singing and heaven was smiling, at once it thundered and lightened, and grew dark. The carnation sighed, the rose wept, both withered away together, and the flowers fell; and with them the hapless mother became a lifeless heap of earth."

The numbers of these mountain warriors were greatly increased by the bloody tyranny of Ali Pacha, who attempted to crush the military organization of the Armatoli; and when the Revolution broke out, the courage, temperance, and hardihood of these bands were among the most effective agencies in rescuing the country from the blighting tyranny of the Turks. The life of the Klephts placed them beyond the reach of anything like literary culture. They had no more time or taste for letters than the confederated chiefs under the walls of Troy; but, like them, they delighted in feats of strength, and in listening to the traditional ballads which commemorated in unwritten minstrelsy the exploits of their fathers. Swift-footed Achilles himself could scarcely have matched them in the race or the leap. Nico Tsara sprang over seven horses abreast; and it was no uncommon thing for a Klepht, in full armor, to outrun the swiftest racer. The Capitanos Zacharias was so tremendous a runner, that he is said to have touched his ears with his heels. Of the Nico Tsara above mentioned and his troop, one of the ballads relates:

> "Three days he keeps the battle up, three days and three long nights,
> And snow they ate, and snow they drank, and bore the hostile fire."

And in another place:

> "Three days he keeps the battle up, three days and three long nights,
> Nor bread ate he, nor water drank, nor sleep came o'er his eyes."

Such men as these could expect no quarter from the Turks, whenever the chances of war threw them into their hands. The tortures to which they were subjected, when such a misfortune happened, make us shudder as we read the horrible details; but the Klephts bore them with the stoicism of the North American Indians. Death on the field of battle filled their idea of glory; and capture or submission embodied to their minds all that was dishonoring and horrible. At their banquets, the favorite toast was *Καλὸν μολύβι*, "Welcome the bullet!" The bodies of those who fell in battle they honored with the name of *victims;* the bodies of those who died of sickness or age, — by a natural death, as we term it, — they stigmatized as *carcasses*. Their religious ideas were rather primitive, but not those of the primitive Christians. They were not over-fond of priests; they did not love the monks; they had no reverence for bishops, and thought it right to turn an honest penny at their expense when they had a fair opportunity. The principal use of monasteries, in their eyes, was to serve as magazines of provisions, to which they took the liberty of helping themselves when occasion served. It was a special triumph to carry off a Turkish Bey or Aga to the mountains, and keep him there under careful watch till ransomed by the payment of a heavy sum. One of the ballads describes the band of Koudas, a Klephtic chief, preparing a feast in this jolly fashion: —

> "And they had lambs, and roasted them, and rams were on the spits;
> Five captive Beys they also had, that they might turn the spits."

And in the ballad of Christos Milionis, the hero descends upon Arta, and carries off the Cadi and two Agas together.

These slight sketches will perhaps suffice to present the Klephtic side of Modern Greek life. The Klephts served an admirable purpose in keeping alive the heroic qualities of the race, when the degrading despotism of the Turks had elsewhere almost crushed them out of existence. They rendered brilliant services in the glorious struggle for liberty, notwithstanding the propensity to indiscriminate plunder which their way of life naturally developed and strengthened. They have

given some trouble to the regular governments, under Capo d'Istria and King Otho; but they have now, for the most part, conformed to the established order of civilized life, and some of them are among the best men in Greece. It is a little curious to see the Pallecaria now, and to remember what they were a few years ago, — then living among the rocks, and descending like eagles upon Turkish Beys, or feasting in the refectories of the monasteries, — now figuring at royal balls, or walking jauntily along the Street of Æolus, at the fashionable hour of four, in tasselled fez, embroidered jacket, snowy fustanelli, dazzling greaves, — a spectacle to the curious stranger and the admiration of the Athenian belles.

LECTURE VIII.

THE GREEK REVOLUTION.

In the last Lecture I spoke of the consequences which followed the downfall of Constantinople, with reference to the position of Western Europe; of the literary relations between the scholars of the Eastern capital and the nascent culture of the West; of the dispersion of learned Byzantines when the Mahometans became masters of the Eastern world; and of the reception of Greek literature, especially among the scholars and poets of Italy. I next sketched the form of the Turkish administration, and pointed out some of the grinding exactions and cruel oppressions to which the conquered were subjected by the conquerors; and finally indicated the principal causes which contributed to the preservation of the national spirit, — the Church, the influence of the local administration left by the Porte in the hands of the natives, and, still more, the continuance of a vigorous germ of nationality among the independent and unconquered mountaineers, who acknowledged only a nominal submission, or no submission at all, to the government of the Porte.

To these causes, in different measures, no doubt the Hellenic race is indebted for its comparatively safe passage through about four centuries of the most horrible misrule and enslavement that any nation has ever yet endured. Had the Turks been a kindred race, with similar institutions for the basis of their society, — had their political arrangements been such that their Christian subjects could have shared in their benefits on a footing of equality, — it seems probable that four centuries of connection would so far have blended them into one politi-

cal body, that a separation on the grounds of the war of the Revolution would scarcely have been thought of, or even possible. But under the circumstances I have detailed, the Greeks were never for a moment allowed to forget that they were a different race from their rulers; of a different religion; despised as slaves, subject to every insult, every outrage, every oppression which proud, cruel, and rapacious masters, in the irresponsible exercise of unlimited power and the unrestrained gratification of their brutal passions, could invent or imagine. Never for a moment did they or could they regard the Turks in any other light than that of violent conquerors; never for a moment did they feel themselves divested of the right to rise upon their oppressors, and drive them out from a land in which, to borrow the expression of a French writer, they were encamped, but not established. And in truth there never was a moment when the Greek people were not fully entitled to reclaim their lost liberties, and to vindicate their lovely but enslaved country by driving the Tartar tyrants from the regions they were polluting by their odious presence. What, to the Greeks groaning under oppression, were the treaties of amity between the Porte and the great powers of Europe? Those treaties might interpose obstacles to their receiving aid and support from the European governments; they could not affect the moral right of the Greeks to emancipate themselves from the Turkish yoke, whenever an opportunity should arise. More than once the Greeks have mistaken the moment, and have been victims to serious and even bloody consequences of an error in judgment. But those who are in a position of intolerable hardship are not the coolest judges of the mode, the means, and the time of throwing off the crushing burden under which they are bowed to the earth. It is a singular fact that Russia has more than once been the means of pushing the Greeks to insurrection, and then, having accomplished some purpose of selfish policy, leaving them to the tender mercies of their exasperated oppressors. So far as the recent movement in the provinces of Thessaly and Epeirus has

been effected by Russian intrigues, it is only one more illustration of the insidious policy of the Russian government in making a tool of the excitability and enthusiasm of the Hellenic race; but, so far as moral right is concerned, the Greeks of Thessaly and Epeirus had an infinitely stronger case against the Turkish government than any of the nations of Europe had against the despotisms holding them in chains in 1848. The Greeks of those provinces were right last spring in rising against the Turks; they were wrong in putting confidence in Russia, if they did put any confidence in Russia; and they made a mistake in judgment by striking for independence at a moment when the two greatest nations were close allies of Turkey, and in open war with the foe of Turkey, — political relations which imposed a necessity of putting down a movement for independence in itself as just as any warfare ever waged by patriots for the most sacred rights of man. The struggles of the Hungarians, which ended so disastrously, excited the sensibilities of the world; but the wrongs enumerated by the Magyar chiefs, and set forth with marvellous eloquence by Kossuth, were nothing — absolutely nothing — compared with the accumulated weight of injuries, for the emancipation from which the Greeks of the provinces in European Turkey seized the present crisis of the Oriental world as a favorable and long-looked-for opportunity.

This feeling of the Greeks is constantly spoken of by the travellers who visited Greece in the last and the preceding centuries, as well as by those who have been in the country since the commencement of the present century. Old Wheeler, who was in Athens in 1675, says: "Although the little hope the Athenians have of ever gaining their liberty from the Turkish tyranny constrains them to live peaceably under their government, without running into rebellion against them, or fomenting any factions in the state, yet does their old humor of jealousy still continue." This work is one of the most quaint and entertaining accounts of Greece in our language. The monuments of Athens were still in a good state of preser-

vation, as we may judge not only by his descriptions, but by the very singular drawings with which his work is illustrated. The pious temper in which the work is written strikes one pleasingly, when contrasted with the flippant or indifferent tone of modern books of travels. To be sure, it was a greater enterprise to visit Greece in those days than it is now. After he had finished his travels, he says: "I hasted to render myself to my country, and to the long wished-for embraces of my parents, relatives, and friends, and to give praise to God for the wonderful things he had done for my soul. . . . . Therefore, arriving at Canterbury, its metropolitan throne, November 15, 1676, transported with unspeakable joy at the singular bliss of my country, relatives, and friends, far exceeding any nation I had seen beyond our British seas, I offered to God the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, resolving forever to call on his great name, who is the only mighty Preserver of mankind." And he ends the book with a psalm of David, appropriate to the occasion.

About a century later, in 1764, Chandler made the tour of Asia Minor and Greece, an account of which he published. He draws a similar picture of the state of the country, and of the eagerness of the people in looking for encouraging tokens that a better state of things was about to be inaugurated. In 1809, when Hobhouse travelled in Greece, the feelings of the Greeks had grown so much stronger, that, as he relates, a common commencement of a conversation with them was, "Your Excellency will find but poor fare in our country; but you are not in Christendom. What can be done amongst these beasts of Turks?" Their detestation of their masters broke out on every occasion; and when the chanter from the minaret announced the death of a Mahometan, every Greek that met his friend in the street saluted him thus: *Ἀπέθανε σκυλί*, "A dog is dead." "The archons who enjoy the confidence of the Turks are infected with the same spirit, and, in proportion as they are more powerful, feel a stronger desire of revenge."

In the reign of Catharine II., in the year 1768, a war

broke out between Turkey and Russia. The crafty Empress endeavored, and with instant success, to rouse the Greek nation to throw off the yoke, inspiring them with the hope of recovering their ancient liberty. Two years previously, a Greek who had been in the Russian army had been despatched into the Peloponnesus to prepare the insurrection; and in 1769, a Russian fleet, under the command of Orloff, came to the Peloponnesus. The population flew to arms. The Turkish government poured a host of Albanians into the Peloponnesus, and suppressed the revolt with immense slaughter. Orloff, witnessing the ill success of the attempt, forgot his promises, and sailed away, leaving the Greeks to their fate. An Armatole chieftain, named Androuzos, distinguished himself by feats of eminent bravery in this affair; and a body of four hundred Laconians showed themselves not unworthy descendants of the heroes of Thermopylæ. At the conclusion of the peace between Russia and the Porte, the provinces which had received the Russians, or were suspected of having co-operated with them, were heavily punished. The patriarch Meletios was tortured, and then banished. Large fines were inflicted on the wealthier classes. The city of Moschopolis was plundered and destroyed. Three thousand of the inhabitants of Tricca were killed. Many Larissæans were slain, and their only church was demolished; priests and magistrates were beheaded in Lemnos; and the Christians of Smyrna were indiscriminately massacred as they came out of the church. The enormities committed by the Albanians in Peloponnesus were indescribable; and the question was debated in the Divan, whether it would not be advisable to seize this opportunity of extirpating the entire Hellenic race. But, by the influence of Hassan Pacha, milder counsels prevailed, and he was intrusted with the pacification of the Peloponnesus. This he accomplished by calling to his aid the mountain Klephts, by whom the Albanians were speedily driven from the country. The family of Colocotrones, one of whom, Theodore, played so conspicuous a part in the war of independence, first appear as leaders at this crisis.

In 1787, war was renewed between Russia and Turkey, and new commotions again agitated Greece. Lampros, a Lebadeian, who had taken part in the former insurrection, supported by many wealthy merchants of Smyrna and Constantinople, led a naval expedition against the Turks with considerable effect; and about the same time the Souliotes of Epeirus, who for a century had maintained their independence among the mountains, commenced their heroic struggle with the cruel and crafty Ali Pacha. They were joined by many Thessalian warriors, of whom the most distinguished was Androuzos, who, since the insurrection of 1769, had led a wandering life, constantly pursued by the Turks, and with difficulty escaping the dangers by which he was encompassed. A treaty of peace was again concluded between Russia and Turkey in 1792. Androuzos attempted to escape into Russia through Venice; but he was surrendered by the Venetians to the Turks, sent to Constantinople, and there put to death. The Souliotes continued the war until 1803, when they were obliged to come to terms with the Pacha; but, with the cruelty and perfidy natural to his character, he violated his plighted faith. Many of those brave men fell a sacrifice to his falsehood; others escaped to Parga and the Ionian Islands, and, as a Greek historian says, "afterwards avenged the treachery of the Turks in a thousand battles."

But there were other circumstances which contributed more powerfully than these external relations to prepare the heart of the people for the desperate struggle. Foremost among these were the increase of commercial wealth and the revival of education. The islands of Hydra, Spezzia, and Psara rose suddenly into great mercantile importance, and their ships were seen in every port from the Crimea to Gibraltar. In all the cities of the East the leading commercial houses were those of the Greek merchants, and institutions for the education of children were speedily endowed by these enterprising men. The famous school of Joannina, which has contributed largely to the literature of modern Greece, dates back as far as 1690. Pupils

from that school established themselves, in the last century, in all the principal places in the North of Greece. In the middle of the eighteenth century a second school was established in Joannina by Eugenios, called the Bulgarian, who, born in Corfou in 1716, and educated in Italy, was appointed professor in Joannina in 1742, and from that station, by his commanding talents and his great eloquence, exercised an influence over all Greece. He was afterwards called to Macedonia, and at last removed to St. Petersburg, where he died in 1806. Nicephoros Theotokios, also from Corfou, was an eminent teacher and writer, whose works, published at the expense of a liberal family of merchants, the Zosimadæ, were widely circulated among his countrymen. Schools were established at Bucharest and other cities of Moldavia and Wallachia, and many distinguished teachers besides those already named cooperated in the great work of spreading the light of letters among their compatriots throughout the Turkish Empire. Schools were founded on Mount Athos, colleges at Smyrna, Scio, and Patmos, and literature was again cultivated by those holding the highest places in the Church at Constantinople, Jerusalem, and Athens. Many young men were sent to the universities of Europe, and contributed not a little, on their return, to disseminate a taste for European letters and science. Writers began to cultivate the spoken Greek as an organ of communication with the people; the literary classes generally, almost up to the eighteenth century, having adhered to the ancient form of the language. In the last half of the eighteenth century, an immense number of European works on history, ethics, and philosophy were translated into Greek; the number of schools was multiplied, and there was a general intellectual excitement throughout the Hellenic population.

The ability and acquirements of the conquered people did not fail to attract the attention of the government; and the need of such talent and knowledge being more and more felt in the multiplying relations between Turkey and the European governments, many individuals among the Greeks were summoned

to the service of the Porte in various diplomatic and civil capacities. In the seventeenth century, a Greek gentleman of a Trebizond family, Panagiotaki by name, was raised to the dignity of grand interpreter, or Dragoman, of the Porte, which gave him opportunities that he did not neglect of protecting his nation from the barbarities of the Turks. His successor was Alexander Mavrocordatos, a native of Scio, — the first prominent possessor of a name which has since been, and is at this moment, the most illustrious in Greece. He studied medicine and other sciences in Italy, and afterwards went to Constantinople, where he practised his profession and held the chair of elegant literature in the patriarchal school. He was accused by the Turks of magic, because he judged of diseases by feeling the pulse; and he was the first man in the Turkish capital who explained the circulation of the blood. He gained the confidence of the government, and was able to contribute largely to the progress of culture, not only by his elegant writings, but by the establishment and endowment of schools in European Turkey and Asia Minor, and by sending many young men to the universities of Europe. Some of these distinguished themselves in literature, writing both in ancient and in modern Greek. The son of Alexander, Nicholas Mavrocordatos, was the first Greek who rose to the dignity of Hospodar of Wallachia; and his successors, the Greek Hospodars of Wallachia and Moldavia, — the Mourouzes and Soutsos families, — labored effectively for the advancement of the rude populations of those half-civilized provinces, both in learning and in the practical arts. Among other services, they caused the Bible and the Liturgy of the Greek Church to be translated into the Slavonic dialects of those countries.

There existed for many years a secret society or club called the Hetairia, having for its object the improvement of Greece and its final emancipation. Like other secret societies, it had its orders or degrees, from the common member up to the Grand Arch, with its sonorous titles and insignificant mysteries, its signs, known only to the initiated, its peculiar cipher,

and its means of rapid communication. Unlike most other secret societies, it had a reason for its secrecy, and that was a good one; it had a high object to be accomplished,—the deliverance of a down-trodden race. The most prominent Greeks in foreign cities were its leading members; and throughout continental Greece affiliated branches were established, in spite of the presence of the Turks, who appear not to have been aware of the mine that was preparing to explode beneath their feet. This society was one of the most efficient agencies in bringing about the war of the Revolution.

Among the individuals whose names will always be memorable in the history of Hellenic liberty there are two which shine with conspicuous lustre; these are Coraës and Rhigas. Adamantios Coraës, or Coray, was born at Smyrna, according to his autobiography, in 1748. At a very early age he showed a great eagerness for knowledge; and his tastes were favored by his father and mother, whose chief object in life was the education of their children, and by his grandfather, who had been for many years the teacher of an Hellenic school in Chios, and who at his death left a small classical library to be inherited by the first of his descendants who should distinguish himself in letters. The prize was won by Adamantios. He prosecuted his studies with unwearied zeal, extending them to the Hebrew and Arabic. "At that time," says he, (1764,) "and in the condition of the family, any other father, without exception, from among the citizens of Smyrna, hearing that his son was looking out for a teacher of Hebrew, would have sent for a physician, thinking he was mad. But my excellent and thoughtful father contented himself with asking me what was the use of the Hebrew tongue. When I told him it helped to a better understanding of the Old Testament, he answered, 'Good! begin then.' I have never been able to recall this laconic answer without tears. I often wanted a new dress for the festivals of the Church, like other young people; and he put me off from Christmas to Easter, and from Easter to Christmas; but whenever I wanted a teacher or a

book, or any other means and appliances of instruction, he never put me off." In 1772 the young man went to Amsterdam, where he remained in a commercial house six years, giving all his leisure to literary pursuits. "My innate hatred of the Turks," says he, "grew almost to frenzy from the moment I tasted the liberty of a well-regulated community. To my mind, Turk and wild beast became synonymous terms, and are so still" (1828). In 1778 he returned to his native place, arriving there a few days after the great fire, in which a large part of the city, including his father's house, was consumed. His parents were anxious to keep him at home. They tried every means of dissuading him from his purpose of visiting France to study medicine. "At length," says he, "they held out the bait of matrimony in the hope of changing my mind; and certainly this bait would have caught me, both on account of my youth and the beauty and wealth of the girl, the orphan daughter of a very rich father, had not the love of liberty forced me to scorn all other loves. My parents, seeing that even this failed to weaken my resolve, and fearing for the state of my health, at last gave their consent." In 1782 he arrived at Montpellier, where he remained six years, engaged in study, supporting himself in part by his works. In 1788 he removed to Paris, taking with him letters of introduction to the principal medical men of the capital. His literary life in Paris forms part of the intellectual history of the age. He died in Paris in 1833, at the age of eighty-five, true to his love of liberty and of letters and his contempt of all other loves; for he remained wedded only to study. His writings on the state of Greece and on the Greek language, his editions of several of the classics, and his animated exhortations to his countrymen, gave him an unbounded influence; and for the space of forty years he may be said to have guided the education of his people. He was the first of the modern Greeks who enjoyed the respect of the scientific and literary men of Europe, and was the first to proclaim to the world that the Hellenic race could no longer be held in slavery. He was unable, on account of his age and

infirmities, to take a personal part in the struggle when it came; but the vigor of his pen and the excellence of his character were worth more to the cause than a thousand swords.

Constantinos Rhigas has been called the Tyrtæus of modern Greece. He was born at Velestina, a small town in Thessaly, in 1753. Early in life he went to Bucharest, and remained there until 1790, engaged in commerce, and afterwards holding the office of professor. He was accomplished in the ancient Greek, and in the literature and languages of Modern Europe. The excitement of the French Revolution had its natural effect upon his ardent temperament, and he formed plans more generous than prudent for the redemption of his own country. He was the principal founder of the Hetairia, under which name he published lyric ballads of a spirited and stirring character, which rang like a trumpet through Greece. He repaired to Vienna in 1796, where at that time many rich Greek families were established, in the hope of rousing them to immediate action, —

> "To trample the turban and show their true worth,
> As the sons and the namesakes of the godlike on earth."

From Vienna he held a correspondence with the friends of his country all over Europe, and occupied himself at the same time with the publication of a Greek journal; but all his literary activity was concentrated upon the generous object of liberating his country. His poems were circulated and sung everywhere. The Greek merchants of Vienna embraced the cause with patriotic ardor. But the Ottoman Minister at Vienna discovered his plans, by the treachery of a false friend, and he, with eight companions, was denounced to the Austrian authorities as a conspirator. The Austrian government, with characteristic barbarity, handed them over to the Turkish authorities. The guard who were to conduct him to Constantinople, fearing an uprising and a rescue, resolved to put him to death on their arrival at Belgrade. Torture was applied to force him to betray the names of his associates; but the extremity of agony failed to overcome his steadfast resolution. At

the place of execution he broke the cords by which he was bound, and killed two of the murderers; but he was overcome by numbers, and, with his companions, was immediately beheaded. Thus perished, at the age of forty-five, this illustrious patriot and poet, surrendered by a government calling itself Christian into the hands of a merciless despotism, his only crime being his love of country, and perhaps a too rash devotion to the object for which alone he lived. But he died a martyr to a glorious cause; and his death is only one of those atrocious acts for which the government of Austria — concealing the remorseless cruelty of Oriental despotism under the garnish of Christian civilization — is held to a stern account at the bar of history and in the judgment of humanity. The refusal of the present kind-hearted Sultan to surrender the Hungarian fugitives was hardly the return to be expected for such a compliance with the demand of his father; and the lesson taught to the autocratic powers of Christian Europe is one not readily forgotten by the world.

Since the occasion is past, it is easy to see that the songs of Rhigas owed something of their effect to the circumstances and feelings of the time. But they have solid merits, which will make them always dear to the memory of his countrymen. At this moment, they are learned by heart and recited with contagious ardor by the Greeks. The enthusiasm kindled by the name and works of Rhigas among the Greeks in 1809–10 is well illustrated by Mr. Hobhouse. One day he was playing chess with a young Greek gentleman, the son of a person of high rank in Peloponnesus, Mr. Londos, who has since borne a distinguished part in the politics of Greece. "On hearing the name of Rhigas," says Mr. Hobhouse, "he jumped suddenly from the sofa, threw over the board, and, clasping his hands, repeated the name of the patriot with a thousand passionate exclamations, the tears streaming down his cheeks. He recited with ecstasy the war-song of that unfortunate Greek." It was the song of which Lord Byron translated two or three stanzas.

"Sons of the Greeks, arise,
The glorious hour 's gone forth;
And, worthy of such ties,
Display who gave us birth.
Son of the Greeks! let us go
In arms against the foe,
Till their hated blood shall flow
In a river past our feet.

. . . .

Sparta, Sparta, why in slumbers
Lethargic dost thou lie?
Awake, and join thy numbers
With Athens, old ally!
Leonidas recalling,
That chief of ancient song,
Who saved ye once from falling, —
The terrible, the strong! —
Who made that bold diversion
In old Thermopylæ;
And, warring with the Persian
To keep his country free,
With his three hundred waging
The battle, long he stood,
And, like a lion raging,
Expired in seas of blood."

Another of his pieces, called *Προτρεπτικόν*, or *Rallying Song*, is still more spirited. It is in the popular style, and appeals to the Klephts with an admirable adaptation to their peculiar character: —

"How long, ye braves, must we in gorges live,
Lonely, like lions, on the mountain-sides,
And dwell in caverns, sheltered by the boughs,
And fly the world, from bitter slavery's yoke,
Our brothers leaving country, parents, friends,
Our children leaving all who share our blood?
Better one hour of life with liberty,
Than forty years of slavery and chains."

Another poet, Polyzois, sings in a similar vain: —

"Friends and countrymen, shall we
Slaves of Moslems ever be,
Of the old barbaric band,
Tyrants o'er Hellenic land?
Draws the hour of vengeance nigh, —
Vengeance! be our battle cry!"

Such were the motive-powers which impelled the Greeks to seek their restoration among the nations of the earth, — an inextinguishable nationality, which, when nearly destroyed in city and plain, took refuge among the mountains, and breathed the wild air of forest freedom; the reviving spirit of liberty in the eighteenth century; the enterprise and wealth of energetic individuals of the race scattered over the world, and rising superior to the slavery in which they were born; the rapid improvement of education, and the diffusion of Western science by the newly founded schools and colleges; the powerful inspiration of poetry appealing to great recollections and mighty hopes. Was there, in the heart of the people, a soundness and vigor which could respond to such appeals? Was there in their cause a justification of such appeals? Did they deserve to succeed in the struggle which so many brave spirits had toiled and suffered in preparing?

The insurrection was opened by Prince Alexander Ypselanti, selected by the Hetairia, at the head of the Greeks of Moldavia, who issued a proclamation in March, 1821, that all the Greeks had on that day thrown off the Turkish yoke. Within a few weeks, the provinces of the Peloponnesus and the other parts of Greece had risen in arms. Among the most gallant leaders of the opening scenes of the war was Germanos, Archbishop of Patras. At Constantinople a suspicion already existed that a conspiracy was forming among the Greek inhabitants of the city; and when the information arrived of the movements in Greece, the most rigorous measures were taken against the Greeks. Their schools were suppressed; their arms were seized; their total destruction was proposed in council; women and children were thrown into the sea; and Prince Mourouzes was beheaded in the Seraglio. A proclamation called on all Moslems to arm against the rebels, and the wildest and most ferocious fanaticism prevailed in the capital. In the streets where the Greeks resided, bodies of the dead and dying were everywhere to be seen. Ten thousand persons disappeared in the first few days; and before three months had

passed, it is supposed that more than thirty thousand Greeks were butchered in different cities of the Empire. The Beys of Greece struggled in vain to smother the insurrection. Neither cruelty nor cajolery — and both were tried — had the slightest effect. The resolution to strike for liberty was universal and unchangeable; and the massacres were renewed at the capital. Gregory, the Patriarch of Constantinople, then eighty years of age, three bishops, and eight priests, were seized by the order of the Grand Vizier, as they were leaving the mass, and hung in their robes before the principal gates of the church. The lifeless body of the Patriarch, two days after the murder, was cut down, dragged through the streets, and thrown into the sea. It was taken up by Greek sailors, carried to Odessa, and there honored with a magnificent funeral.

In the army of Prince Ypselanti were many of the noblest young men, the very flower of the Grecian youth. Five hundred students rallied at the call of their country, and, enrolling themselves as the Sacred Band, with a uniform of black, and the Spartan motto on their standard, Ἢ τὰν ἢ ἐπὶ τάν, — "Either this or on this," — placed themselves under the command of the Prince. Four hundred of this gallant troop perished in the battle of Dragaschan on the 19th of June, and the rest were dispersed. Such was the ill-omened beginning of the conflict.

This is not the occasion for detailing the history of the war of Grecian independence. Its general features are all that come properly within my scope, with a few of the leading events, by which its course was determined and its character defined.

It is well remarked by Mr. Tricoupi, in his excellent history, that the Greek Revolution is distinguished from other revolutions by some peculiar and very important characteristics. It attempted to put a check neither on absolutism nor on despotism; neither to change the local government, nor to break the bonds of union with the mother country. It aimed at a mightier and more glorious object than all these, — to expel from Greece, by force of arms, an alien race of another faith,

who had conquered her by arms ages before, and to the last continued to regard her as their captive and subject to their sword.

"This war," writes Mr. Tricoupi, "broke out between two nations, living indeed in Europe, but ignorant of the military art and the political science by which all the rest of Europe was and is distinguished; and for this reason it may be regarded as a political and military anomaly in the midst of the political and military science of the present day, often reminding us, by many of its events and catastrophes, of the heroic times of ancient Hellas. Greece declared and proclaimed, before God and all mankind, at the beginning of her contest, that she aimed to break the foreign yoke, and to recover her nationality and her independence."

The disproportion between the resources of the contending parties is another circumstance worthy of consideration. The party which fought to throw off the yoke for years, without support from other quarters, was estimated at one twentieth of the enemy; and their resources were trifling in comparison, because they were the resources of private individuals, contrasted with those of an ancient and powerful despotism. "The happy and unlooked-for result is sufficient to breathe courage into suffering and outraged nations, when, poor and powerless, they engage with firm resolve in the sacred struggle for faith and fatherland, for freedom and for justice, for national honor and happiness, against spiritual oppression and the devastation of their country, slavery and wrong, national annihilation and general wretchedness."

The passions out of which the struggle grew determined its character; — on the one side the habit of tyranny, rapine, and oppression, and the contempt of barbarian masters for those whom they had so long oppressed; on the other, a sleepless sense of wrong and desire of revenge mingling with and inflaming the love of country, the consciousness of superior intellect, and reverence for the illustrious memories of the past. Religious hatred, the fiercest perhaps of all human passions,

gave intensity to resolve, and steeled the hearts of the contending parties against sympathy and pity. Hatred of race was another irritating element among the complicated passions which envenomed the strife. But, after all, it was a desperate struggle of barbarism, misplaced in this century, against reviving civilization and the Christian faith. It was this circumstance which gathered around the Grecian cause the hearty sympathies, the fervent prayers, the effective co-operation of Christian men everywhere. For years after the commencement of the struggle the cabinets of Europe, indeed, looked coldly on. More than once the cry for help was answered by the disheartening response, "Let the Greek rebels return to their allegiance to their lawful sovereign," — as if at any moment of the four centuries of their enslavement there was a single element of legal sovereignty in the oppressive rule of the Turks, — a single moment when the Christian victims had not a right to use every means within their reach to reclaim the freedom, theirs by inheritance, and ravished from them by overpowering wrong! And so the great powers of Europe were forced, by the irresistible course of events, to acknowledge, when the contest was drawing nigh to its conclusion. "For the first time," as the Greek historian truly remarks, "the discordant politics of Europe harmonized, and listened to the salutary precepts of morality, and the sacred voice of suffering humanity."

The war became at once a struggle for life and death. The needless butcheries with which the Turks commenced their repressive measures, the deep wound they inflicted on the religious sensibility of the people by the brutal murder of the gray-haired patriarch, and the outrages everywhere committed upon women and children, taught the Greeks, if they needed any lesson on the subject, what mercy was to be dealt out to them by their enraged masters. The Greeks themselves were not in a condition to carry on the struggle according to the rules of modern warfare. Their military forces were not supplied and disciplined like the armies of Europe. The

Armatoles and Klephts were brave, but irregular fighters; and the chiefs were unaccustomed to act in concert, under a superior authority, and through well-concerted campaigns. A sudden attack, a rapidly executed foray, an expedition for plunder, an instant retreat to the mountains, with the spoils and prisoners they had hastily seized, — these were the exploits they were accustomed to achieve. No law of nations existed between Greeks and Turks: it was the law of war, in its simplest and rudest forms, according to which enmity ceases not when the fight is over, victory is only half won by the enemy's defeat, and conquest must be consummated by his annihilation.

Unfortunately, Greece had no one man like Washington or Alfred to whom she could look up with implicit confidence, as her guide and saviour. She had many daring chiefs and some wise counsellors, but most of them were men of limited influence, and some had but narrow and even selfish views. Greece was poor in resources, and had no credit in the money markets of the world. With all these apparently insuperable difficulties, it is surprising how readily the old instinct of legality and political order revived among the Greeks when the responsibility of conducting a national conflict fairly began to be felt. Mavrocordatos formed a local government in the western part of Greece; in the eastern part, a local council, called the Areopagus, assumed the control, under the presidency of Theodore Negris; a Peloponnesian Gerousia, or Senate, of twenty members, assembled at Argos, under the presidency of Prince Demetrius Ypselanti: and these three governments, under the persuasion of Mavrocordatos, undertook to form a constitution and a central government for confederated Greece. The first national assembly of Greece, consisting of sixty-seven deputies, assembled in January, 1822, at Epidaurus, and proceeded at once to frame a provisional constitution. They proclaimed the national independence in the following terms: —

"In the name of the Holy and Indivisible Trinity. The Greek nation, under the frightful tyranny of the Ottomans, unable to bear the unexampled weight of the yoke of tyranny,

and having shaken it off with great sacrifices, proclaims this day, through its lawful representatives in a national congress assembled, before God and men, its political existence and independence."

The vigor and eloquence of this proclamation are worthy of the cause, and inspire us with admiration for the men who were capable of so appealing to Heaven and to the world in vindication of the rights for which they had drawn the sword. It states clearly and briefly the causes of the war, declaring that, far from being the effect of a seditious and jacobinical movement, or the pretext of an ambitious faction it is "a national war, undertaken for the sole purpose of reconquering our rights and securing our existence and honor. A thousand ages of proscription would not bar the sacred rights whose creation was the work of Nature herself. They were torn from us by violence; and violence more righteously directed may one day win them back. . . . . Grecians, but a little while since ye said, 'No more slavery!' and the power of the tyrant has vanished. But it is concord alone which can consolidate your liberty and independence. The assembly offers up its prayers that the mighty arm of the Most High may raise the nation towards the sanctuary of His Eternal Wisdom."

The Constitution, while making the Orthodox Eastern Church the ecclesiastical establishment of the nation, enacted the toleration of all other forms of worship. It lodged the government in a Senate and an Executive Council, the former to consist of thirty-three members and the latter of five. It provided for annual elections. Eight secretaries were appointed, namely, of state, the interior, public economy, justice, war, the navy, religion, and police. The judiciary consisted of eleven members, chosen by the government, but holding office by an independent tenure. Civil and criminal justice was to be administered according to the legislation of the Greek Emperors; and the French Commercial Code was adopted for the regulation of mercantile affairs. Torture and confiscation were abolished, and freedom of the press established. The great

defect of the Constitution was the limited power of the executive, especially in the critical circumstances of the country, — a defect severely felt in the conduct of the war. Alexander Mavrocordatos was chosen President of the executive body; Athanasius Kanakares, Vice-President; and Ypselanti was chosen to the Presidency of the Senate, but he declined, and Petros Mavromichales was put in his place. The departments were organized by the appointment of secretaries, or commissioners, the first secretary of state being Theodore Negris. Mavrocordatos and his colleagues proceeded with great energy and ability to organize and arrange the operations of the government, and to introduce some degree of order into military affairs.

The most striking and terrible event of the year 1822 was the massacre of Scio. The inhabitants of this island had risen to a high degree of wealth and refinement. The population, before the Greek Revolution, was estimated at more than a hundred thousand. They took little or no part in the war until March, 1822, when the peasantry rose and shut up the Turkish garrison in the citadel. The Capitan Pacha, who was on his way to the Peloponnesus with a large fleet, changed his plan, and suddenly landed fifteen thousand men upon the island, resolved to strike awe into the people by a terrible example. A massacre of the defenceless inhabitants at once commenced, such as the annals of warfare seldom record. Men, women, and children were tortured and then put to death. Some fled to the mountains and hid themselves in caverns; others succeeded in getting on board the foreign ships lying in the harbor; others made their escape to the neighboring islands; while more than forty thousand were slain in the course of a month, and thousands of the most refined and cultivated were carried off, and sold into slavery, in the bazaars of Smyrna and Constantinople. Many were bought by Turks for the pleasure of torturing them and putting them to death; and many were redeemed by Europeans residing in Smyrna, who sacrificed their wealth in this work of Christian charity. The population was reduced to sixteen thousand in one year.

The news of these events filled all Greece with sorrow and indignation. The Hydriotes, Spezziotes, and Psariotes sailed with a large fleet, under the command of the illustrious naval hero, Andreas Miaoules, and, on the 19th of May, encountered the Turkish armament between Scio and the coast of Asia Minor, when a battle ensued. But it was not until June that deserved retribution overtook the bloody Kara Ali, — the Capitan Pacha, — at the hands of another Greek hero, Canares, who, with his countrymen, had been watching at Psara an opportunity of aiming a fatal blow at the hostile fleet. By a bold stroke he conducted some fire-ships within the Turkish lines, and, attaching one of them to the prow of the flag-ship, which was lying at anchor in the centre of the fleet, instantly set it on fire. Canares and his gallant crew escaped in a boat. The ship was burned, and two thousand men perished. The Capitan Pacha, severely injured by the flames, leaped into a boat, but had scarcely seated himself when one of the masts fell, crushing him and capsizing the boat; and he was borne ashore by swimmers, bruised and burnt, and in a dying condition, and expired in the midst of the most terrible sufferings on the very scene of his unparalleled cruelties.

The disheartening answer received from the Congress at Verona in December, 1822, pronouncing the enterprise inconsiderate and culpable, and requiring the Greeks to submit to their lawful sovereign, the Sultan, and the civil dissensions between Colocotrones and the central government, led to the calling of a second National Convention at Astros in March, 1823, which introduced some amendments into the Constitution, and elected Petros Mavromichales President. They made various changes in the ministry, and resolved to organize a land force of fifty thousand and a fleet of a hundred men-of-war. The events of the year were confused and bloody; but one act of heroism shines conspicuous above all others, — the midnight attack of Marco Botzares and his gallant band of Souliotes upon the Turkish camp at Carpenesion. The immediate object — the capture of the Bey in his tent — was not

accomplished, and Botzares fell in the battle. Eight hundred Turks were slain, with a loss of only fifty of the Greeks. "The commander," it is well said by one of his countrymen, "did not cease after his death to serve his country; for, if we except the achievements of our naval heroes and the last siege of Mesolongi, no other event excited such admiration for Grecian valor as the death of Marco Botzares." These transactions certainly show that the Greeks had fallen in no respect below the national spirit of their ancestors. If we look at the whole course of the war, we shall find much to condemn in the factious spirit which more than once threatened to ruin the cause in the blood of mutually slaughtered citizens; we shall detect many instances of ferocity and perfidy; we shall be shocked with the violation of stipulated faith and the murder of troops that had surrendered; and the traveller who takes some pains to learn the private history of those times will hear with horror the tales of private revenge practised with consummate cruelty, by way of retaliation, upon defenceless Turks. Such incidents belong to the nature of such a strife, and inevitably flow from the passions of men, long pent up and suddenly freed from the restraints of government and law. But while I will not be an apologist for Hellenic any more than for Turkish cruelty, I will say that no such sanguinary acts as the massacre of Scio and the butchery of the Patriarch of Constantinople sully the pages that record the struggle. And if we look to the patient virtues with which the common people submitted to the harshest extremities of fortune, rather than yield themselves again to their old oppressors, we must assign them a lofty position among the sufferers for liberty. If, on the other hand, we contemplate the achievements of Canares and Miaoules by sea; the daring deeds of Marco Botzares and his brave kinsmen, Costa and Nothi, on land; and the exploits of many other leaders scarcely less patriotic and gallant than they, — we shall be forced to the conclusion that no war has ever been more fruitful in illustrious deeds of heroism borne by the natal soil, fertilized with the blood of its children.

And if we study the constitutions and laws they enacted in the midst of the terrors of war, or their eloquent appeals to the sympathies of the Christian world, we shall have to look far, before we find men superior in intellectual gifts and manly virtues to Coraës, Mavrocordatos, and Tricoupi.

LECTURE IX.

HISTORY OF THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

In the last Lecture we considered the leading characteristics of the Greek Revolution, partly as described by Mr. Tricoupi, one of the ablest and best of the living statesmen of the country, and partly as naturally growing out of the previous relations of the Greeks and Turks. I endeavored to show that the continued and peculiar oppressions of the conquerors justified the conquered in attempting at any moment to throw off the long-borne yoke of slavery; and that the diplomatic relations between the powers of Europe, which regarded Turkey as constituting a part of the European system, although, for objects of their own, they had often interfered in her affairs in a manner quite inconsistent with the assumption of her absolute independence, could make no difference in the natural right of the Greeks to strike for the restoration of their national existence.

Although the decision of the Congress of Verona had shut Greece out from the nations, still the increasing sympathy growing up among the people everywhere was some compensation to the Greeks for the coldness and indifference of the Holy Alliance. In 1823, Louriottes, a confidential friend of Mavrocordatos, proceeded to London to negotiate a loan which the executive was authorized to contract, on the security of the national lands. His arrival in the British capital, and the details he communicated as to the condition of Greece, excited the greatest interest. Under the auspices of Mr. Bowring, and with the approbation of liberal politicians like Lord John Russell, Lord Milton, Zachary Macaulay, Sir James Mackin-

tosh, William Smith, Sir Francis Burdett, Joseph Hume, and others, public meetings were called, and circulars addressed to the principal cities in the kingdom, soliciting subscriptions; and donations poured in from every quarter. Committees were appointed for the management of the funds, and to correspond with Philhellenic committees in other countries. An agent — Mr. Blaquiere — was sent to Greece to confer with the government. In Germany and Switzerland similar movements took place, and large supplies of money, arms, and soldiers were furnished by their activity. To add to the sympathy now growing stronger and stronger daily, the unhappy refugees were expelled from the countries embraced in the Holy Alliance; a large number were driven from Russia, many of whom died of cold and hunger on their miserable journey; and the wretched survivors were refused admission to Austria, France, and the Sardinian states. At length, with great difficulty, the committees of Geneva and Zurich obtained permission for them to traverse France, by small detachments, and sent them from Marseilles to Greece at their own expense. From the United States contributions were not wanting. In 1824, about $80,000 were sent, which had been collected by the local committees. Some attempts were made by the English and Russians to bring about the pacification of Greece. The plan proposed by the Russian agent, craftily arranged to bring the revolted provinces under the control of the Czar, while nominally replacing them as tributaries to the Porte, was rejected by the Sultan; and as he had been assured by the British Minister that the great powers were determined to leave the Greeks to their fate, the rejection of any interference could not well be made the ground of complaint. The ill success which had, however, attended three campaigns convinced the Turks that they would be unable to reduce the Greeks without assistance; and Mahomet Ali, the Viceroy of Egypt, who had made himself almost an independent sovereign, received flattering proposals from the Sultan, with the offer of the Morea as a pachalic to his step-son Ibrahim, on

condition of suppressing the revolt. But notwithstanding the formidable arrangements made for the invasion of the Morea by the Egyptian fleets and armies, the Greek government was greatly encouraged by the success of their agents in contracting a loan of a large amount on the security of the national property, which, although procured on very disadvantageous terms, — a debt of £800,000 being incurred for an available sum of only £280,000, a little more than one fourth of the amount, — gave a very important relief in the pressure of their affairs. The Egyptian armament did not reach the Peloponnesus until 1825. This invasion, and the ravages committed in the Peloponnesus by the Egyptian army, disciplined and led by European officers, and apparently the agency by which the subjugation of Greece must be accomplished, were, under the guiding hand of Providence, the means of bringing this people out of their great peril in the darkest hour of distress and danger.

The accession of numerous Philhellenes to the cause was not in all respects beneficial. They came with different views, objects, and expectations. Some of them were ardent, enthusiastic men, whose sympathy for the country rested more on her ancient greatness than on her present sufferings. Many of these, finding the pictures of their glowing imaginations not justified by the reality, finding the leaders and Pallecars not like Miltiades and Themistocles, and the people sunk in wretchedness and poverty deeper than they had dreamed, and in some cases, at least, without the moral qualities that could inspire them with respect, quickly became disgusted with a cause they had taken up merely as amateurs, and withdrew from a country where hardship and death seemed the only reward for their classical zeal. Others went thither with inordinate conceptions of their great importance to the struggle which they honored by their participation, and were shocked at the ingratitude of the Greeks, who did not take them at their own estimate. These also withdrew, consoling themselves for the mortification of their vanity by abusing the falsehood of the Greeks.

Others still went there as mere adventurers, looking only for occasions of rapacity and plunder. But there were many honorable and distinguished men, who, well understanding the nature of the conflict, and not led away by literary enthusiasm or by the memories of the past, consecrated their best efforts, their lives, and their fortunes to the restoration of Greece. Such men were Colonel Gordon, a man of calm intrepidity and the coolest head; Fabvier, the gallant Frenchman, who refused all pecuniary compensation, and spent his property in the service; Meyer, the German, who stood at his post bravely, and perished beneath the ruins of Mesolongi; Hastings, whose modest worth and gallant spirit have left a name never to be forgotten in the annals of those times; General Church, who, though he arrived in Greece only to share in the last year of the struggle, showed the virtues of chivalry and the humanity of a Christian gentleman, and who still lives an object of universal respect for his probity, his defence of liberal principles, his unbending virtue in public and private life. He is a member of the Senate, and though not an orator, is yet a man of sagacity and widely extended influence. There were also our countrymen, Miller and Howe, both brave men, and the latter known throughout the world for his genius and philanthropy, having by his later achievements in peace eclipsed the fame he won on the theatre of his early adventures. He is remembered there with warm affection; and in the city of Athens the guides still recommend themselves to the American traveller, by assuring him that they were the attendants of Dr. Howe. The only fault I ever heard found with him was by one of his companions in arms, who said that it was impossible to restrain him from constantly exposing himself to danger, when his services were needed for the sick and wounded. They thought with Homer,

> "A good physician, skilled our wounds to heal,
> Is worth whole armies to the common weal."

There was Finlay, too, an accomplished young Scotchman, who, having helped in the achievement of independence, is now

giving his studious years to the history of the country of his adoption, and whose works rank with the best productions of historical research, in this age so fruitful of distinguished authorship in the department of history.

But the greatest sensation was created by the advent of Lord Byron, and his early death at Mesolongi gives a melancholy interest to this chapter of Hellenic history, which a much longer period of active service might have failed to inspire. The most indulgent judge must pass severe censure on many parts of Lord Byron's life. Apologize for him as we may, — on the ground of temperament, imperfect education, unfortunate influences that shaped his character in childhood and youth, early disappointment, premature fame and its accompanying temptations, the intoxication of the flatteries administered by the most brilliant society in the world, uncongenial domestic relations, — still we are untrue to the right if we fail to acknowledge that there was much of wilful wrong in his conduct, unworthy of a rational being, and degrading to his splendid genius. His life in Italy, after the catastrophe that shattered his household gods, was a deep and ineffaceable dishonor to his great name. But his better nature began to wake from the delusions of the passions; and his good angel gave him an opportunity of crowning his days with a radiant and glorious close. In his youth he had travelled through Greece, and celebrated its past achievements, as well as painted its recent degradation, in the most brilliant poetry of modern times. He was misled by no enthusiasm of lettered and romantic youth; he knew thoroughly the condition of the Greeks, and no man had judged their faults of character with more severity. Blended with his poetical genius, there was in him a vein of practical good-sense, which, in other circumstances, would have made him eminent in the business of public or private life. With this good sense, he scrutinized the condition of Greece, and reasoned out the probability of his being able to render her a worthy service in that hour of her peril. He came to the conclusion, calmly, without passion, without enthusiasm, without

delusion, that here was a field in which he could achieve a good beyond the value of any poetical success; and having come to this conclusion, he forthwith consecrated his thoughts, his time, his fortune, his personal exertions, to the cause of Greece. He set sail from Leghorn on the 24th of July, 1823, ten days afterward arrived in Cephalonia, and thence despatched messengers to institute particular inquiries into the state of affairs in Greece. In the mean time he made an excursion to Ithaca, and examined with interest the antiquities of the rocky capital where Ulysses reigned. Finding here a number of families that had escaped from the massacre of Scio, from Patras, and other places, he generously furnished money for their relief. Speaking of one of these families which he had known in affluence at Patras, a lady, quoted by Moore, says: "The eldest girl became afterwards the mistress of the school formed at Ithaca; and neither she, her sister, nor mother could ever speak of Lord Byron without the deepest feeling of gratitude, and of regret for his premature death." One of his messengers brought him a letter from Marco Botzares, written only a few hours before his heroic death. In this letter he says: "I shall have something to do to-night against a corps of six or seven thousand Albanians, encamped close to this place. The day after to-morrow I will set out, with a few chosen companions, to meet your Excellency. Do not delay. I thank you for the good opinion you have of my fellow-citizens, which God grant you will not find ill-founded; and I thank you still more for the care you have so kindly taken of them." This refers to his having taken into his pay a body of the Souliotes, who had been homeless since their defeat by Ali Pacha.

Lord Byron did not embark for Mesolongi until the end of December, having employed the intervening time in corresponding with the friends of Greece, the Greek government, and the heads of the different parties, by whose dissensions the condition of the country was much endangered. It is impossible not to admire the just and comprehensive views

developed by him during these months of preliminary arrangements for his great enterprise. The wisdom of his conduct in refusing to be drawn into the schemes of any of the factions, the sagacity with which he penetrated and baffled their intrigues to secure his adhesion, and the earnestness of his exhortations to concord and union, can never be sufficiently praised. To the general government of Greece he writes: "We have heard some rumors of new dissensions, nay, of the existence of a civil war. With all my heart I pray that these reports may be false or exaggerated; for I can imagine no calamity more serious than this. . . . . You have fought gloriously. Act honorably towards your fellow-citizens and the world, and it will then no more be said, as has been repeated for two thousand years, that Philopœmen was the last of the Grecians. Let not calumny itself compare the patriot Greek, when resting from his labors, to the Turkish Pacha, whom his victories have exterminated." To Mavrocordatos he writes: "I am very uneasy at hearing that the dissensions of Greece still continue, and at a moment when she might triumph over everything. . . . . Greece is at present placed between three measures, — either to reconquer her liberty, to become a dependence of the sovereigns of Europe, or to return to a Turkish province. Civil war is but a road which leads to the last two." He arrived at Mesolongi on the 5th of January, 1824, having narrowly escaped being captured by the Turkish fleet. The whole population welcomed him on the shore; the ships fired salutes as he passed; and Mavrocordatos, at the head of the troops, and the civil authorities of the place, gave him a welcome as hearty as it was full of joy, and escorted him in a body to the house which had been prepared for him. His conduct, in the midst of the difficulties by which he was at once surrounded, showed the same coolness, good sense, and generosity — where generosity could be serviceable — that had marked his course ever since he engaged in the enterprise. The suppression of discord, and the diminution of the inevitable horrors of war, by tempering it with sentiments

of humanity, too often forgotten by the Greeks as well as by the Turks, in the moment of victory, were the first objects he had at heart. He let no opportunity escape of inculcating and illustrating this spirit. He employed his influence successfully in inducing the government to set five Turkish prisoners, who had been long languishing in dungeons, at liberty, and restoring them to their friends. Others he relieved by pecuniary aid, and he provided the means of sending others still to their homes. His ample income was employed without stint, and at the same time with excellent judgment, in the public service. It is an interesting incident in his literary life, that the last lines he wrote are those memorable ones, on the 22d of January, 1824, on completing his thirty-sixth year. The last stanza was sadly ominous of his approaching fate: —

> "Seek out — less often sought than found —
> A soldier's grave, for thee the best;
> Then look around, and choose thy ground,
> And take thy rest."

He had been haunted from the beginning by a presentiment that he was destined to close his life in Greece. In taking leave of his friends in Italy, he more than once gave utterance to this feeling; and on making his last visit to Lady Blessington, — one of the best friends he ever had, who by her brilliant pen has done him fuller justice than any other writer, — he was deeply moved, and burst into an agony of tears. The first indication of his failing health was given by a violent convulsion on the 15th of February, while he was conversing with a few friends. This alarming incident created the most serious apprehensions, and he was urged to retire to some more salubrious place, until his health should be restored. In reply to one of these friendly invitations he says: "I cannot quit Greece while there is a chance of my being of any (even supposed) utility; there is a stake worth millions such as I am, and while I can stand at all, I must stand by the cause." In the following month, from an exposure to a violent rain, he took the fever which, in a few days, ended his life. The de-

tails of that last illness and death fill one of the saddest chapters in the history of Greece; and the affliction which fell on the country, as the news rapidly spread from province to province, testified how deeply his generous devotion to their cause had sunk into the hearts of the Greeks. In his last thoughts, indistinctly uttered in the broken words which were all the dissolving organs could shape, the names of his friends, his wife, his daughter, and of Greece, were confusedly mingled, — *daughter* and *Greece* were the very last words he spoke; and then the silence and sleep of death settled over him who had electrified the world, and on whom, but now, the hopes of a nation centred. A storm of thunder broke over the town at the moment of his departure; and the Greeks, who thronged the street to learn his condition, cried out, as the awful crash fell from the sky, "The great man is gone!"

It was the festival of Easter, — usually celebrated with great joy by the Greeks. But the day of festivity and rejoicing was turned into sorrow and mourning. All amusements ceased; the shops were shut; prayers were offered in all the churches. The funeral ceremony took place on the 22d of April, in the church where lie the bodies of Marco Botzares and the brave General Normann. Says an eyewitness, quoted by Moore: "No funeral pomp could have left the impression or spoken the feelings of this simple ceremony. The wretchedness and desolation of the place itself; the wild and half-civilized warriors around us; their deep-felt, unaffected grief; the fond recollections, the disappointed hopes, the anxieties and sad presentiments, which might be read on every countenance, — all contributed to form a scene more moving, more truly affecting, than perhaps ever before was witnessed round the grave of a great man." Thus fell Lord Byron on the soil of Greece, only four months after his arrival. His body was carried back to England, and deposited, not in Westminster Abbey, but in the burial-place of his ancestors, near Newstead, on the same day of the same month on which, one year before, he had said to Count Gamba, "Where shall we be in another year?" The

beautiful marble monument to his memory, which, like his dust, was refused a place among the illustrious poets of his country, in Westminster Abbey, now adorns the library at Cambridge, where his genius is revered and his errors are covered with the mantle of charity. The heart of the poet still rests inurned in the place where he died; and his memory is honorep with an enthusiasm and affection which can never perish from the soul of liberated Hellas. Poets have sung his praises; history has recorded his generous deeds; and a street in Athens, which runs hard by the Acropolis and near the noblest monuments of antiquity, bears his illustrious name. A hundred times have I walked musingly along that quiet way, and in my busy meditations blended the name and fame of Byron with the immortal poets whose shades seemed to hover round the spot where their words once resounded.

Mr. Tricoupi, the friend of Mavrocordatos and of Byron, — the able secretary, the vigorous historian, and now the worthy representative of his country in England, — delivered a funeral oration in the church on the Sunday after Easter. "What an unlooked for event!" exclaimed the orator, — "what a deplorable misfortune! It is but a short time since the people of much-suffering Greece, all joy and exultation, welcomed to their bosoms this distinguished man; and to-day, all woe and despair, they bedew his funeral couch with bitterest tears, and mourn without consolation. The sweetest salutation, *Christ is arisen*, became joyless on Easter morning upon the lips of the Christians of Greece, who, when they met one another, before they had yet spoken the congratulations of the festival, anxiously inquired, 'How is my Lord?' Thousands of men, assembled to interchange the sacred salutation of love in the broad plain outside the walls of our city, appeared to have assembled only to beseech the Saviour of all for the health of the champion in behalf of the freedom of our nation."

The orator goes on to speak in the most feeling manner of the services Lord Byron had rendered; of the liberal employment of his wealth; of his excellent judgment; of his splendid

genius. "All lettered Europe," says he, "has eulogized, and will eulogize, the poet of our age; and all ages will celebrate him, because he was born for all Europe and for all ages. In the agony of death, — yes, at the moment when the veil of eternity is rent to him who stands on the borders of mortal and immortal life, — in that awful hour, the illustrious departed, when leaving all the world, bore only two names upon his lips, that of his much-beloved daughter and that of his much-beloved Hellas. These names, deeply rooted in his heart, the moment of death itself could not obliterate. 'My daughter!' he said; 'Greece!' he said; and his voice expired. What Grecian heart is not broken when it recalls this scene? . . . .

"Thine arms, O dearly cherished daughter! will receive him; thy tears will flow on the tomb which holds his body; and the tears of the orphans of Greece shall be shed over the urn that holds his most precious heart, and upon the whole land of Hellas, because the whole land of Hellas shall be his sepulchre. As, in the last moments of his life, he had thee and Hellas in his heart and on his lips, it was just that, after his death, Hellas also should receive a part of his precious remains. Mesolongi presses in her arms the urn that holds his heart, as a symbol of his love; but all Greece, mourning and inconsolable, renders his body back to thee with ecclesiastical, civil, and military honors. Crowned with her gratitude, and bedewed with her tears, learn, most noble maiden, that chieftains bore it on their shoulders to the church; that thousands of Grecian warriors lined the way through which the procession moved, with arms reversed, as if they would war against the very earth which snatched away their faithful friend. They surround his bier, and swear never to forget the sacrifices thy father made, and never to allow a barbarous and tyrannic foot to trample the spot where his heart is laid. A thousand Christian voices are at this moment raised, and the temple of the Most High resounds with funeral chants, and is filled with prayers, that his revered remains may be safely restored to his native land, and that his soul may rest where rest the righteous forever."

Mr. Tricoupi spoke the feelings of the whole country. A deeper sense of loneliness and woe never fell upon that afflicted land than when her greatest benefactor died.

> "Such honors Ilion to her hero paid,
> And peaceful slept the mighty Hector's shade."

I have already remarked that the intervention of the Viceroy of Egypt in the affairs of Greece led finally to her salvation. The successes of Ibrahim Pacha were checkered with reverses and defeats; but, wherever he went, he laid the country waste, and, slaughtering the men, sent the women and children to be sold as slaves in Egypt. On the 18th of November, 1825, the fleet of Ibrahim arrived from Peloponnesus at Mesolongi; a few days later another division of his army joined the forces by way of Lepanto, and the city was immediately invested by an army of thirty thousand men. The most active measures for its reduction by a vigorous assault were taken. The besiegers were often repulsed with heavy losses, and in February Ibrahim resolved to reduce the place by a rigid blockade. The gallant attempts of Miaoules to break the blockade were fruitless. Ibrahim Pacha sent to the garrison a request that they would depute persons to treat with him who could speak Albanian, Turkish, and French; but they replied, "We are illiterate, and do not understand so many languages; Pachas we do not recognize; but we know how to handle the sword and gun." In three days eight thousand shot and shell were fired into the town, demolishing the houses, but killing few of the people. The outposts were taken one by one, but only after the most desperate resistance. At length the supplies from without were cut off; the garrison was reduced to the most miserable condition, feeding on rats, raw hides, and sea-weed; and the earth was covered with the starving, sick, and wounded.

But they persisted in their refusal to surrender, and resolved, since the place could no longer be defended, to leave it with arms in their hands. A sortie was arranged for the night of April 22, and would probably have been quite successful but for the treachery of a Bulgarian, who gave notice

to Ibrahim Pacha, and thus enabled him, shortly before the appointed moment, to make preparations for the attack. The plan was for three thousand armed men to throw themselves suddenly upon the enemy's line, and cut a way for the women and children. The women and boys armed themselves with swords and daggers. Many of the inhabitants, however, including the sick and wounded, resolved not to quit their native place, but to share its downfall and bury themselves in its ruins. The leave-taking of those who determined to make the desperate attempt, and of their friends and relatives who remained behind, is described as heart-rending. The wailing and lamentations not only filled the city, but reached the posts of the besieging army. According to the arrangement, the soldiers of the garrison passed out by the eastern outlet, and awaited the signal; but, growing impatient under the enemy's fire, they started up, and, shouting "Death to the Barbarians!" passed the trenches, broke through the infantry, silenced the batteries, and killed the artillerymen at their guns. In the confusion of the hour, a part of the plan failed to be carried into effect. A panic broke out among the people, and, instead of taking instant advantage of the enemy's confusion, they rushed back to the town. The Turks and Arabs, eager for slaughter and plunder, poured in from every side, and commenced the work of destruction and blood. The cries of the wounded and dying filled the night. The roll of musketry, and the explosions of magazines, set on fire by the inhabitants and slaying multitudes of the besiegers, added to the horrors of the scene. A lame private named Capsales had retired with his family into the principal magazine, which contained thirty barrels of gunpowder. The soldier sat by its side with a lighted torch; and when it was crowded by the frantic Moslems, he promptly applied the torch, and all were blown, mutilated corpses, into the air by the horrible explosion. The loss of the besiegers was increased by the fighting for the spoils between the Egyptians and the European Turks. When the assault commenced, there were in Mesolongi nine thou-

sand souls. Five hundred were slain in the sortie; six hundred afterwards died by starvation in the mountains; about eighteen hundred escaped, of whom two hundred were females. The spirit shown by these Grecian heroines is illustrated by one of the incidents of the escape. A young girl, flying with a brother in delicate health, was pursued by a Turkish horseman. Carrying the brother, exhausted by fatigue, to a neighboring hillock, she seized his gun, received the fire of the Turk, which fortunately was without effect, and then coolly took aim and shot him dead. Among the slain were a number of European Philhellenes, and two brothers of Tricoupi, the orator and historian. Three thousand were sabred in the streets; and about as many more — women and children — were sold into slavery. Greece was again clothed in mourning. Not only was the downfall of Mesolongi disastrous in a military and political view: it gave new occasion for civil strifes, which the government could not repress; and it placed in the hands of the enemy the spot which they had sworn, at the death of Byron, he should never pollute with his footsteps; but the endurance and heroism of the defenders, the gallantry of those who cut through the besieging lines and of those who stayed to perish in the ruins, crowned the name of Mesolongi with unfading glory.

Among other disheartening circumstances, the Greeks were greatly embarrassed by fraudulent transactions, in England and the United States, with reference to the construction of ships of war ordered by their agents. I cannot dwell on this topic, and I allude to it here only to say that the Greeks found in both countries able and intrepid defenders. In the United States, the shameful transactions of those who took advantage of the necessities of the Greeks to extort unheard-of profits from their exhausted resources were most ably exposed by our public writers, and every possible measure was taken to protect the Greeks from further fraud, as well as to relieve them from the embarrassments in which they were involved. Mr. Contostavlos, a most respectable gentleman, formerly a Sciote

merchant, was sent to this country to arrange the difficulties. He received the most efficient and disinterested aid from Mr. Webster, Mr. Clay, and Mr. Everett. I saw him last winter in Peiræus. He spoke with deep feeling of the two lamented statesmen, whose death was mourned in Greece hardly less than here; and of him who still survives, of his unwearied personal services and the eloquent appeals from his pen, no language of grateful and affectionate remembrance seemed too strong. It was no small delight to me to hear my eminent countrymen so spoken of in that distant land.

After the siege of Mesolongi, nearly the whole of Greece was in the possession of the Turks. Ibrahim returned into the Peloponnesus only to renew his ravages; but in attempting to reduce the Maniotes, he suffered several severe repulses. Athens, almost the only place in Eastern Greece that still held out, was closely besieged. Odysseus, a distinguished chieftain, born, like his ancient namesake, in Ithaca, was holding secret and traitorous correspondence with the Turks. An attempt of Colonel Fabvier on Eubœa had failed. The third National Assembly of the Greeks, held in April at Epidaurus, dismayed at the fall of Mesolongi, appointed two commissions, — one of twelve members, for the regulation of the war; the other of thirteen, for the civil government and the administration of the revenues. The Assembly then adjourned until September, and the committees repaired to Nauplia to assume their functions. The war was carried on in Eastern Greece, Western Greece, Peloponnesus, and the Islands; and the state of affairs now seemed hopeless in all these great divisions of the theatre of action. In the month of July the Turkish commander, Kintahi, or Reschid Pacha, commenced his operations against Athens, then commanded by Gouras, formerly a lieutenant of Odysseus, who, having surrendered himself prisoner to the troops sent against him in 1824, was put into close confinement in the Acropolis at Athens. A few days afterwards his mutilated body was found lying at the foot of the Acropolis, under the tower in which he had been confined. It

was given out that he fell and was accidentally killed in attempting to escape. But various circumstances, concurring with expressions of remorse uttered by Gouras, led to the opinion that this chieftain had yielded to the importunities of the enemies of Odysseus, and consented that he should be secretly put to death, — an act of treachery to one who, though justly chargeable with want of fidelity to the public cause, yet had been his benefactor, and had now thrown himself frankly and unreservedly into his power.

Gouras was instructed by the government to keep the Turks at a distance from Athens; but, disregarding their orders, he filled the magazines of the Acropolis with provisions, which he forced the inhabitants of Attica, in the most arbitrary manner, to supply, and prepared with his troops to stand a siege in that almost impregnable fortress. Many of the citizens went over to Salamis, as they did in the old Persian wars; the rest stood by their hearths and altars in the city. The Turks soon got possession of the town, though the outposts were bravely defended. The operations of the siege were interrupted by the appearance of Colonel Fabvier and Karaiskakes on the Plain of Athens with a considerable force; but, a battle taking place, the Greeks were put to flight, and the bombardment of the Acropolis from the hill of the Museum, near the monument of Philopappus, was resumed with great energy. The siege was carried on, not only by the incessant firing of the batteries, but by a series of mines and countermines, in which many men perished. Gouras lost his life early in October. As he was going the rounds by night, one of his attendants snapped a musket; and two shots being fired in the direction of the flash, one of them struck him on the head, and he died without a groan.

Several attempts were made to relieve the garrison, but only one succeeded. It was executed by Colonel Fabvier and a body of about six hundred picked men, who, on the night of December 13, broke through the Turkish lines, and entered the Acropolis under a shower of grape from the Museum, with a loss of only six killed and fourteen wounded. A large sup-

ply of powder was almost the only advantage secured to the garrison by this daring adventure. The siege was vigorously pressed, and the distress arising from the crowded state of the Acropolis increased. The constant discharge of cannon did great mischief to the splendid monuments of the Acropolis, despite the firman obtained from the Sultan by Sir Stratford Canning, that the Parthenon and the Erechtheion should be spared. A large part of the Erechtheion was battered down; and the family of Gouras, with the principal ladies of Athens, who had taken shelter there, perished beneath its ruins.

A fresh National Assembly met at Trœzen in March, 1827, and introduced some very important modifications into the Constitution, the most essential of which was the placing of the executive power in the hands of a single magistrate, under the title of President of Greece, extending the term of office to seven years, and greatly enlarging his powers. After much angry disputation, and with strong reluctance on the part of many members, the choice finally rested on John Capo d'Istria, a Corfiote, — a man of great talent and sagacity, and of large experience in affairs, having been long in the Russian service, and being at that moment a member of the cabinet of the Czar. As some time must elapse before he would arrive in Greece, the executive power was intrusted to a commission of three. The same Assembly appointed Lord Cochrane to the chief command by sea, and placed General Church in the supreme command of the land-forces. These two officers immediately entered upon their respective commands, and arrangements were at once made for an attack on the Turkish besiegers of the Acropolis. Karaiskakes also returned from a brilliant expedition in the North. Public attention was concentrated upon the operations for raising the siege of Athens, as if that were the last hope of the country; and troops poured in from every quarter, in answer to the calls of the government and the commanders. But a division of opinion between the English officers and Karaiskakes led to fatal results. This chieftain's long experience in the wars of his country and the best mode

of combating the Turks was set aside for the theoretical and perhaps more scientific tactics of the new commanders; and this has been pronounced, no less by foreign than by native writers, a fatal mistake, analogous to that of General Braddock in rejecting the advice of Washington.

The Greeks, during the operations that ensued, committed one of those acts of bad faith which have brought so much reproach upon them. An attack was made on the Turkish position in Munychia. The Turks fled, and three hundred took refuge in the monastery of St. Spiridion. Though surrounded by the Greeks, cut off from all communication, and without the slightest chance of escape, they refused to surrender, unless allowed to retain their arms. The monastery was cannonaded; and at last General Church proposed to allow them to pass out with their arms, contrary to the wishes of the native officers. The Greeks were disappointed and enraged, knowing that the garrison would in a few days be reduced to an unconditional surrender. Hostages had been given for the faithful performance of the agreement, one of whom was Karaiskakes. He, frantic at this shameful violation of the truce, struggled in vain against his countrymen; then, turning to the Turks, cried out, "Kill me, as I have killed you." Two hundred Turks were killed; about seventy made their escape, and reached the camp of Reschid Pacha. The result of such an act of treachery was most disastrous. It demoralized the Greek forces, and disheartened the European commanders. General Church, horror-struck, was on the point of resigning his command; and was dissuaded from this step only by the entreaties of the Moreote officers.

The next disastrous incident was the death of Karaiskakes in a skirmish, on the 4th of May. A body of Greek soldiers made an irregular attack upon some of the Turkish outposts. The assailants were driven back. Karaiskakes was sick and in bed; but hearing the fire, he rose, sprang upon his horse, and galloped into the midst of the battle. While endeavoring to rally the fugitives, he was shot by a Turkish horse-

man, and was carried mortally wounded from the field. He was taken on board one of the ships, and there, conscious of his approaching death, passed the last hours of his existence in an earnest conversation with Lord Cochrane and the other chiefs on the state of the country, and the proper measures to be taken for her deliverance. When some words of consolation were addressed to him in praise of the brilliancy of his achievements, he answered, "What I have done, I have done; what has happened, has happened; now for the future." And when he was drawing his last breath, he said to those around him, among whom were Lord Cochrane and General Church: "My country laid upon me a heavy task. I have fulfilled my duty by ten months of terrible battles. Nothing remained except my life. This I owed to my country; this I surrender to my country. I am dying. Let my fellow-soldiers finish my work; let them save my Athens." These were his last words. His bravery, his patriotism, his heroic death, threw the errors of his previous life into oblivion; and he is justly regarded by his countrymen as one of the most illustrious of Grecian heroes. Funeral honors were paid to his memory by the National Assembly at Trœzen, and an eloquent discourse pronounced by Mr. Tricoupi, in the presence of the Deputies, the Executive Council, and a large concourse of citizens. The stranger who visits Athens gazes with interest, as he enters the harbor of Peiræus, upon the ruins of the tomb of Themistocles, which looked out upon the waters of Salamis, the scene of his glory; and as he passes up from Peiræus to Athens, along the foundations of the ancient walls which connected the port with the city, he beholds with equal interest, in a field at a distance from the road, the monument erected on the spot where the modern hero fell.

Two days afterward the fate of the attempt to raise the siege of Athens was decided. On the 6th of May one of the most sanguinary battles which had occurred in the whole war was fought in the environs of Athens. Lord Cochrane had said that he should dine on the Acropolis. Vain boast! The

Turkish horsemen — always the most formidable arm of the service — dashed impetuously upon the Greeks, and cut them to pieces with dreadful slaughter. The panic-stricken survivors of the main body fled. A band of Souliotes maintained their ground, and were nearly all slain. The rout was complete; "and for two hours," says Dr. Howe, "the plain presented only a picture of detached fights, between bands of ten, five, or three Greeks and dozens of Turks, who soon cut them to pieces, though after desperate resistance." Lord Cochrane and General Church, who were advancing with supplies and reinforcements, were obliged to retreat, and take refuge on board the ships. The centre and left wing, amounting to seven thousand men, who had borne no part in the battle, immediately fled in the direction of the Isthmus. The posts around Peiræus were abandoned. The ground was strewn with fifteen hundred of the flower of the Grecian warriors. Nearly all the Europeans engaged in the battle perished. Many of the bravest leaders fell; others were taken prisoners, of whom two hundred and forty were beheaded the next morning. Lord Cochrane immediately withdrew with his squadron to Hydra. General Church continued at Phalerum, with two thousand men, three weeks longer, when, finding his men disheartened and ready to desert, he dismantled the batteries, and abandoned all the positions. Some attempts were subsequently made to relieve the garrison by an expedition in the enemy's rear, to cut off his supplies. The citadel was, however, surrendered on the 5th of June.

The fall of Athens was felt as a tremendous blow all over Greece. It seemed to extinguish the last spark of hope that the war could be continued. The poverty that covered the country was indescribable. But the sympathies of the world were aroused anew by the tales of starvation and woe which reached the ears of the humane everywhere. In the United States societies were formed to raise contributions, and seven cargoes were despatched, which saved thousands of the wretched population from dying of hunger, and infused new

strength into the heart of the nation. The aid rendered to prostrate Hellas in that hour of her saddest extremity is not forgotten; and the names of those who were instrumental in this blessed work of charity are spoken with gratitude in the huts of the peasantry all over Greece.

The cabinets of Europe also were no longer insensible to the duty of putting a stop to the existing state of things. The tone of the English government had been greatly altered by the influence of Canning's genius and humanity; and the old Tory sympathy with the Turks, in their lawful efforts to suppress the unjustifiable insurrection of their rebellious rayahs, was felt to be false to the spirit of the times, and traitorous to the rights of man. Before the insurrection, the Greeks had sent a deputation to St. Petersburg, to offer the crown of Greece to one of the Grand-Dukes, in the hope of securing the support of so powerful a state to their cause. The offer was declined. During the war they sent another deputation to Paris, proposing that one of the sons of Louis Philippe, then Duke of Orleans, should be placed on the throne. Here again they met with disappointment. Later still, they threw themselves on the protection of England, offering to confer the crown on Prince Leopold; but the proposition was at first coldly received. The successes of Ibrahim Pacha, and the prospect of having a powerful Egyptian government, independent of the Porte, established in Greece, had some effect in exciting the alarm of Europe; and the disturbance of commerce in the Levant became more and more serious. In 1826, Russia manifested a disposition to take the settlement of affairs into her own hands. Mr. Canning seized the occasion of the Duke of Wellington's mission to St. Petersburg, in that year, to communicate the readiness of the British Cabinet to join in an arrangement for the pacification of Greece. The result of this communication was the signature of the protocol of the 4th of April. This was followed by a series of diplomatic discussions, leading to the treaty signed at London on the 6th of July, 1827, by the plenipotentiaries of Russia, France, and England, which

provided that an immediate armistice should be established between Turkey and Greece, and proposed to place Greece on the footing of a tributary province, under the sovereignty of the Sultan, but with the right of electing her own governors, subject to the approval of the Porte. The feeble and wretched condition of Greece put it out of the question for her to reject these humiliating terms; but one finds it hard to read these details without indignation at the bare suggestion of replacing that long-suffering country, after seven years of such a war as modern times have nowhere else witnessed, even under a merely nominal subjection to her old and relentless oppressor. The Porte refused to allow any interference in its own affairs, and even to receive a written communication from the ministers of the Western powers.

This obstinacy of the Porte, which was but too well justified by the previous assurances of the cabinets that they had no intention of interfering, induced England and France to augment their naval forces in the Mediterranean. Russia sent a squadron to join them. The British admiral, Sir Edward Codrington, was instructed to prevent the landing in Greece of any forces from Egypt or Turkey. The Greeks had put a stop to all military operations, as soon as the treaty was known; but as Ibrahim continued his ravages, and violated a temporary armistice to which he had agreed with Codrington, they again took up arms. The combined Egyptian and Turkish fleets lay concentrated in the harbor of Navarino, when, on the 20th of October, the English, French, and Russian squadrons entered the bay, resolved, at all hazards, to put a stop to the enormities still perpetrated by Ibrahim, and to force him to comply with their proposals, and either to quit the Peloponnesus altogether or to put an end to his devastations. The Turks were drawn up in order of battle, and they having fired upon a boat with a flag of truce, and killed several persons on board, a terrible battle instantly commenced, which lasted four hours. The Turco-Egyptian fleet consisted of seventy-nine ships-of-war, and other vessels, amounting in all to a hundred

and twenty, carrying 2,240 cannon; the fleet of the allies amounted to only twenty-six, with 1,324 guns; but, though the battle was obstinate and bloody, it resulted in the utter defeat of the Turks and Egyptians. They refused to strike. Some of their ships were burned; others were driven on shore, and nearly all disabled; only twenty or thirty corvettes and brigs remaining in a sailing condition. Six thousand men perished.

So tremendous a catastrophe caused for a moment an involuntary cessation of hostilities. Europe and America resounded with triumph and exultation; and the Greeks, filled with new hope, returned thanks to Heaven for so signal and unlooked-for a deliverance. But when the news reached Constantinople, it found the Porte still intractable and violent. "My positive, absolute, definitive, unchangeable, eternal answer," said the minister to the interpreters of England, France, and Russia, "is that the Sublime Porte does not accept any proposition concerning the Greeks, and means to persist in its own will for ever and ever, even unto the day of the last judgment." In this obstinate course of conduct the Porte was sustained by Austria, under the inspiration of Metternich, to whom the alliance between Russia, France, and England, and all the recent proceedings for the salvation of Greece, were in the highest degree distasteful. But it was impossible for the Porte long to hold out. In April, 1828, Russia declared war against Turkey, and compelled the Sultan to turn his chief attention in that direction.

The President elect, Capo d'Istria, — having procured his dismissal from the Russian service, spent about ten months in St. Petersburg, Paris, and London, in order to come to a distinct understanding with the three protecting powers, and effected a loan, then highly necessary to the reorganization of Greece, — arrived at Nauplia in January, 1828, and thence proceeded to Ægina, where the government had at that time established itself. While in England he succeeded in winning the good-will of the leading statesmen, except the Duke of

Wellington, who persisted in thinking the battle of Navarino an untoward event. Immediately on his arrival he assumed the duties of his office, and set about the Herculean task of restoring order in the demoralized and disorganized condition of the country, with marvellous activity and talent, having the aid of Mr. Tricoupi as Secretary of State. The Porte still refusing terms of peace, a French expedition sailed from Toulon, and Ibrahim Pacha was glad to accept terms, and make his way back to Egypt with the remains of his shattered fleet. The last sail of the hostile armament disappeared from Greece on the 7th of October; and the last battle on land was fought the next year in Bœotia, by Prince Demetrius Ypselanti, who, with three thousand men, gained a brilliant victory over a hostile force of seven thousand; thus triumphantly completing a struggle which eight years before his brother Alexander had opened by a disastrous defeat.

The Porte at last, terrified by the successes of the Russian arms, accepted the proposition of the great powers, and hostilities thenceforth ceased between the Turks and the Greeks.

On a general review of the contest now brought to a close, I think we may assert that the Greeks were right in commencing it, and justified in commencing it when they did; that they were entitled to the cordial support of Christian nations at the outset, though so far were they from receiving it that they were deemed by the Holy Alliance as rebels; that the course of the great powers was at first cold and cruel, and afterwards wavering; and that they ungenerously required the emancipated country, at the moment of pacification, to acknowledge itself tributary to the Porte, when the Greeks had fairly entitled themselves, by their courage and sufferings, to the guaranties of Europe for their national existence and their absolute and unqualified independence.

LECTURE X.

GREECE AFTER THE REVOLUTION. — ACCESSION OF KING OTHO.

In the few incidents of the Greek Revolution which have been cited, we have seen the bravery and endurance of the people of Greece, stained by occasional deeds of bad faith and bloodshed, when the pledged word of their rightful commanders, no less than the established rules of warfare, should have withheld the hand of violence; and on the other side, a ruthless spirit of extermination the rule and not the exception, and a slavery worse than death the lot of those whom the sword had spared. We have seen the patient suffering in the cause of liberty and national independence overmatching the dogged obstinacy of the Moslem, which declared its resolution unalterable till the day of judgment, — the day of judgment proving to be announced by the thunders of Russian cannon. We have seen the Greeks struggling with the enormous despotism which weighed them to the earth; then denounced as rebels by Christian governments; then aided with money and arms by Christian men; next the subject of diplomatic negotiations; finally, as a result of the blind obstinacy of the Turks, suddenly rescued from the prospect of immediate annihilation by a bloody naval battle in the waters of ancient Pylos, which took every one by surprise, thrilled the heart of the world, frightened cabinets from their propriety, and was regretted by the King of England, in his speech to Parliament, as "a collision wholly unexpected by his Majesty," — his Majesty deeply lamenting "that this conflict should have occurred with the naval force of an ancient ally." We have seen the great

powers resolving to bring about a pacification of the East, but in such a way as to show reluctance, selfishness, an utter absence of sympathy for the sacred rights so long and so desperately struggled for, and a determination, if possible, to keep Greece still subject to the Porte, making compensation to that barbarous power for the partial loss of a revolted province by tribute wrung from the exhausted land over which the storms of war had for eight years swept with desolating fury. Such was the treaty of July 6, 1827, praised by some writers as the acme of generosity, but in truth a most lame and impotent conclusion of high pretensions and sounding promises. It treated Turkey as still the rightful sovereign; Greece, as still the revolted province, and bound to consider the privilege of choosing her governors, subject to the approval of the Porte, as a great indulgence, for which she was to pay a heavy annual tax. On the 22d of March, 1829, another protocol was adopted, more precisely defining the boundaries, and again providing that Greece should be a principality, acknowledging the sovereignty of the Porte, and paying tribute as before. These provisions were strongly objected to, on the most obvious grounds of justice, by the National Assembly, which sat from July to August of that year in Argos.

In the following year, the discussion of the destinies of Greece was renewed; and it was finally determined — the great powers having made up their minds to that effect — that Greece should be wholly free from Turkey, and invested with all the rights of a sovereign state; but, to make some compensation for this interference with the oft-acknowledged rights of Turkey, they reduced the boundary on the north, and at the same time determined that the government should be a monarchy. They agreed to select a prince from some European royal family, excluding the members of the reigning houses in the three protecting governments. The appointment was first offered to Prince John, the royal scholar and poet of Saxony, who declined it. The choice next fell on Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, the husband of the lamented Princess Char-

lotte, who, at first entertaining the proposition and accepting the appointment, after a few months abdicated. It is curious that both of these princes are at this moment kings, — the former having recently succeeded to the throne of Saxony by the accidental death of his brother, and the latter having many years ago been raised to the throne of Belgium, on the separation of that country from Holland. The wisdom and success with which he has administered the government of Belgium, through all the revolutionary crises which have disturbed the political condition of Europe, make us regret that he was induced to withdraw from the task of governing Greece. He was censured, at the time, for having taken this step; but the circumstances brought out in his correspondence with the plenipotentiaries, and with the President of Greece, fully justify him, and explain his course, without resorting to the supposition, then hazarded in some quarters, that political prospects in England — the possibility of being called to the Regency, should the Princess Victoria succeed to the throne in her minority — influenced his decision.

One thing is singular in the conduct of the Western powers, — they do not appear to have thought it possible to organize the new government under a native of the country. Why did they not consider the election of Capo d'Istria as a settlement of the administration, at least during the period for which he was chosen by the National Assembly? Why did they not furnish their succor, protection, and guaranties to his government, without displacing him? It is true, a republic could hardly have been favorably regarded then, and in the neighborhood of such a despotism. It may also be true, that the difficulty of harmonizing the discordant elements would have been greater under a native of the country, against whom the rivalries and cabals of competitors would easily be roused into dangerous activity, than under a foreign prince, resting on foreign support. Yet the objections to the selection of a foreigner, not speaking the language of the country, not familiar with the people of the country, and not of the religion of the coun-

try, are great and obvious, if the good of the people was the object chiefly to be considered. But with all the philanthropic pretensions of the high contracting parties, there was not much disinterested benevolence in their dealings with unfortunate Greece. Assuming, however, that the establishment of an hereditary government, under a foreign prince, was the best settlement, on the whole, of the affairs of that country, the selection of Prince Leopold as Sovereign Prince — for that was the title proposed to be accorded to him — was the most judicious that could be made. He was designated by a protocol of February 3, 1830, and the choice was communicated to him on the same day. The Prince, taking until the 11th for consideration, on that day signified his acceptance, with certain conditions and reservations relating to the guaranties of the mediating states, the necessary supplies of money and troops, the securities to be extended to Samos and Crete, and some alterations in the proposed boundaries of the new principality. A new protocol met a part of the Prince's objections, but declared that any further discussion as to Samos and Crete would be declined; and the boundary line in question was considered as settled, namely, from the mouth of the Aspropotamos to the mouth of the Spercheios. The proceedings of the conference and the ground taken by the Prince were made known to the Greeks, and laid by the President before the National Assembly. They were well satisfied with the selection of Leopold; but the details of the adjustment of Hellenic affairs were received at first with silence, and afterwards decidedly rejected. The members declared the boundary line wholly inadmissible, and declined to assume the responsibility of acceding to any part of the arrangements, declaring that it was beyond their competency, and that the country would not for a moment listen to them. In several long and very able letters written in reply to communications addressed to him by Leopold, in the course of the following months, the President laid open very fully and frankly the state of public feeling, and the great difficulties in the way of carrying out the proposed

settlement. He reminded the Prince, that in the provinces to be left under the Porte there was a large Greek population never wholly subjected to the Turks; that they had been among the bravest in the war; that they had furnished nearly two thirds of the Greek army; and that probably, if these troops found that they were to be restored to their old oppressors, they would return to their former way of life, as Klephts and Armatoles. At the same time the President urged him to hasten his arrival, as a very important measure for quieting the agitations of the country; hinting also, that, as the resolutions of the London conference contained not a single word about the constitutional rights of the Greeks, it would be very desirable if the Sovereign Prince would at once make known his recognition of the existing constitutional forms, and of the guaranty given by the Assembly at Argos, that the lawful claims of all the citizens who had made great sacrifices during the war should be satisfied. In a similar communication to the residents of the three powers, the President touched upon the same difficulties.

The President and the government of Greece were fully justified in all these proceedings. The boundary line proposed was much more objectionable than that finally adopted; and the unwise and illiberal policy of the great powers on this point has been the cause of many difficulties in the East. The armed insurrection of last spring in Thessaly and Epeirus is but one of the remote consequences of that unhappy settlement.

The results of the London conference had the worst effect on public feeling in Greece, and gave rise to the suspicion, natural enough, though wholly unfounded, that the English Cabinet had a secret purpose of extending over the Peloponnesus the control they exercised in the Ionian Islands. A strong opposition was of course aroused among the Greeks of the mainland and the islands, who were to be again the subjects of the Turks. Other parties, on other grounds, were clamorous against the settlement, though not from any dislike to the personal character of the elected prince. All these circum-

stances could not fail to make a painful impression on the mind of an honorable man like Leopold. Taking them all into consideration, he addressed a letter of abdication to the plenipotentiaries, dated May 22, 1830, in which he very ably recapitulates his objections, and the difficulties in the way of their project. He reminds them that he had already "protested against going out to govern the Greeks in pursuance of a treaty which might also lead to the bloodshed and murder of their brethren. . . . . His first act as a sovereign will have to be either to compel his own subjects, by force of foreign arms, to submit to the cession of their estates and property to their enemies, or to join with them in resisting or evading that very treaty which places him on the throne of Greece. . . . . The country which is now to be given up to the Turks is, together with the fortresses, in the peaceable possession of the Greeks. It is the country from which Greece can best supply herself with timber for building ships. It is the country which has furnished the best soldiers during the war. The chief military leaders of the Greeks have been of Acarnanian and Ætolian families. When the undersigned contemplated the high distinction of becoming sovereign of Greece, it was with the hope of being acknowledged freely and unanimously by the Greek nation, and welcomed by them as the friend through whose means their long and heroic struggles were to be repaid by the security of their territories, and the establishment of their independence on a permanent and honorable basis. It is with the deepest regret that the undersigned sees these hopes annihilated, and is forced to declare that the arrangements of the allied powers and the opposition of the Greeks deprive him of the power of effecting this sacred and glorious object, and would impose on him an office of a very different character, — that of a delegate of the allied courts, appointed by them to hold Greece in subjection by the force of their arms. . . . . The undersigned therefore formally resigns into the hands of the plenipotentiaries a trust which circumstances no longer permit him to execute with honor to himself, benefit to Greece, or advantage to the general interests of Europe."

These extracts show the character of the man. The same tone runs through his voluminous correspondence; and I am sure that any fair-minded reader of the documents will be impressed, as I have been, with the high honor of the Prince, and the delicacy of his conduct at every step of the negotiations. His resignation again embarrassed and complicated the Greek question. The Greeks themselves were struck with surprise and sorrow; for, as I have already stated, they objected not to him, but to the terms of the treaty. All the provinces of Greece had formally expressed their confidence in him, their gratitude for the happy choice made by the allied courts, and their earnest desire that he would appear among them and assume the reins of government at the earliest possible moment. The disappointment when the news of his abdication arrived was in proportion to the anticipated benefits of his reign; for they were convinced that he might finally have removed all the objectionable features of the treaty.[1] But there was no other remedy than to request the great powers to elect another sovereign. The wishes of the Greek government on this subject were conveyed to the residents in a communication of the Senate, through the President, dated August 4, 1830; but the revolution of 1830 in France drove Charles X. from the throne, and occupied the attention of the statesmen of Europe with nearer interests and more pressing questions. The excitement in Greece caused by this event gave rise to disturbances in the Morea, where the chieftains, reduced to the condition of private citizens, had already given manifest signs of discontent and turbulence. The President sent a strong force into the Morea, which tended only to increase the alarm of the people and the restless agitation of the discontented chiefs; and a grave catastrophe was seen to be near at hand, not only on account of the violent opposition to the government, but also of the pressing pecuniary difficulties of the nation.

The opposition became more furious in consequence of measures unwisely taken by the President to make changes in the administration of justice, especially in the punishment of

treason. Prosecutions commenced against two distinguished men, Christophorus Perrhæbos and Michael Grivas, for violent language against the head of the state; their imprisonment for six months in the fortress of Palamedi at Nauplia; their trial for treason before a special court appointed by the government; their degradation from their military rank, and longer imprisonment in the Palamedi; — these violent proceedings, and others equally unconstitutional, not only weakened the power of the government, but exposed the President to the fiercest hatred of the factions into which the people were divided. They became convinced that he aimed at the overthrow of popular rights, the destruction of the municipal system, and the establishment of a despotism in his own person; and that no safety was to be found but in unceasing opposition to all the measures of the government. Large subscriptions were made to establish an opposition press in Nauplia. It was to be edited by one of the most enlightened men in Greece, — Mr. Polyzoides, — and the first number was to appear on the 1st of January, 1831; but the President caused all the copies to be seized before they could be put into circulation. Polyzoides immediately left Nauplia, and going to Hydra, already the head-quarters of the discontented, recommenced his journal, which was supported with great spirit by the Hydriotes and the increasing opposition all over Greece. The attempts of the President to induce the Senate to restrain by law the freedom of the press were unsuccessful; the measures taken to check the circulation of the Apollo (that was the name of the journal) were equally futile. The President, who seems to have totally lost his balance amidst the difficulties of his situation, went personally to Hydra on board a Russian ship, and demanded the immediate surrender of editor, printer, and press. The Hydriotes not only refused obedience, but demanded a national assembly, a revision of the Constitution, freedom of the press, and an examination of the public accounts, as indispensable conditions of further submission to the existing government. The power of the disaffected was aug-

mented by the return of the Hydriote ships, with which were combined those of Spezzia from Syra, as soon as the news of the quarrel with the government reached them; and the ranks were increased by the assembling on that island of the exiles and refugees from other parts of Greece. The state of public feeling at this moment is powerfully delineated in a novel called *Exoristos*, or the Exile, by Alexander Soutsos, one of the ablest Greek writers of the age. It was published in Athens in 1835, after the crisis had passed; obstacles having hindered its earlier appearance. "But," says the writer in the Preface, "I hope the publication of it at any time will not prove fruitless in exciting a hatred against absolute power and a love for constitutional securities."

The hostile movements in the Morea have already been alluded to. Among the principal families in that part of Greece was the numerous and powerful clan of the Mavromichales, the head of which, Petros, had enjoyed the dignity of Bey. This chieftain had exercised his great influence in promoting the election of Capo d'Istria, and one of the first appointments made by the President was that of Mavromichales to the department of war. But disagreements soon broke out, and some members of the family were active leaders in the movements against the government in the Peloponnesus. Capo d'Istria attempted in vain to bring them to terms. They resisted his arguments, and spurned his threats. Several of them were arrested and brought to trial. Petros himself, who attempted to escape from Nauplia, was seized, brought back, and, in violation of an express article of the Constitution defining the privilege of Senators, was put under arrest, tried on several charges, and condemned to imprisonment. Other acts of persecution against the relatives of the Bey inflamed the passions of the Maniotes still more vehemently, and lessened still more the number of the President's adherents. The movements in Hydra became more threatening and dangerous. The malcontents were joined by Mavrocordatos, Miaoules, Conduriotti, and other patriots, and a deputation consisting of the three just named laid their

causes of complaint before the residents of the three powers, and, repairing to Nauplia, assured the President that their minds were made up, even for the extremity of civil war, unless he changed his system. Their mission was without effect; and the leaders assembled at Hydra, prepared for an outbreak. Miaoules seized the frigate Hellas and several other vessels at Poros. Measures were taken by the government to reduce the insurrection; and Miaoules, seeing that the small fleet at his disposal would be unable to resist the forces the President was concentrating against him, set fire to the Hellas, which, with twenty-eight other vessels, soon became a prey to the flames. So perished the American ship which had cost the Greeks so dear. Mavrocordatos, Miaoules, and others were proclaimed traitors. A National Assembly was called to meet at Argos; but the Hydriotes, who still maintained a cordial understanding with the insurgents of Maina, threatened to open an opposition congress at Hydra; and the passions of the people were roused to the highest pitch by these unfortunate and extraordinary events, when a catastrophe as tragical as unexpected solved for a moment the complicated difficulties by which the President and his opponents had been surrounding themselves and afflicting their country.

During the proceedings at Hydra, Constantine Mavromichales, the brother, and George, the son of the imprisoned Bey, went to Nauplia for the purpose of obtaining his liberation. They were at once arrested and placed under the surveillance of the police, — an insult that touched the sensibilities of these proud men more keenly than anything they had before encountered. The mother of Petros and Constantine, a woman of ninety years, solicited an audience of the Russian Admiral Ricord, who was then in the Bay of Maina with his squadron, and implored with natural and touching eloquence his interposition for the enlargement of her imprisoned sons and grandson. He promised compliance, immediately sailed to the harbor of Nauplia, and took measures to redeem his promise. He found the President inflexible. The Bey had been

brought to engage that he would accept his own liberation as an act of grace, and would at once withdraw to private life and seek needful repose after so many labors and sufferings; but when the President's reply was communicated to him, his passion could no longer be restrained, and he took a solemn oath of vengeance, with head uncovered and hand upraised to Heaven, against "the tyrant of Greece and the persecutor of his race." This was on the 6th of October. Three days after, as the President, according to his custom, was going to the Church of St. Spiridion — the patron saint of Corfou — to attend the morning service, to which the bells of the city were summoning the citizens, he perceived Constantine and George Mavromichales, accompanied by two of the police, and apparently performing their devotions at the gate of the church. In this attitude they awaited the arrival of the President. As he saw them, he paused a moment, and then, saluting them, approached the door. George stopped the way, and Constantine drew a pistol, which missed its aim. As Capo d'Istria turned, George drew a pistol, which he carried hidden under his cloak, and shot him in the back of the head. He fell upon the ground, and Constantine then stabbed him several times with a dagger. The President was carried immediately into the church, where, a few moments after, he expired in the arms of a German officer. Constantine was wounded by one of the attendants of the President, and afterwards torn in pieces by the populace. George took refuge in the home of the French resident, who surrendered him to the authorities, only on condition that he should be lawfully tried. After ten days' imprisonment, he was brought before a military commission, appointed by the provisional government. A singular circumstance in this trial was the fact that Mr. Masson, an English gentleman long resident in Greece, a lawyer of great eloquence and immense success in the courts of that country, undertook the defence, and managed it with consummate skill. This gentleman is the brother-in-law of Dr. Hill, and is now Professor of Greek in one of the colleges of Ireland, — one of the few Greek professors who

speak Greek like the Greeks. The circumstances of the assassination were too clear, and the act itself too atrocious, for any eloquence to change the verdict of the court. The assassin was condemned to be shot. He bore his fate with the constancy that marked his race; and his father, having bestowed his last blessing, witnessed his death from the prison where he had so long been confined.

So fell Capo d'Istria, in less than four years from the time when he assumed the government of Greece, by the hand of an assassin, not certainly without his own fault and wrong. But while we condemn the system of force and arbitrary government which he was endeavoring to introduce into Greece, we must not withhold the execration due to every Brutus in history, who, concealing the purposes of private vengeance under the pretext of patriotic devotion, in slaying the person of the tyrant stabs the heart of Liberty herself. Count Capo d'Istria had been bred in the school of Russian politics, and did not well understand the exaggerated notions of freedom which his emancipated countrymen naturally cherished, after so long a slavery and so terrible a war. His ideas of the indispensable necessity of order and law to a flourishing and solid civilization were profound and statesmanlike; but when he attempted to put down disorder and lawlessness by violations of law, he committed a grievous error, which was grievously atoned. His arrival was hailed with enthusiasm by a majority of his countrymen; but under such circumstances it is impossible for the best and ablest man to gratify the over-excited hopes of a people, or to fail of drawing enmities upon himself by the inevitable disappointment of visionary expectations. His system of regular administration crossed the pretensions of the primates and ancient leading families, who reluctantly submitted to equality with the body of citizens; and he was not upheld as he should have been by the European statesmen, who had their own plans. His honest zeal for the interests of Greece unhappily caused the resignation of the equally honest and zealous Leopold; and the July revolution prevented the im-

mediate substitution of another in his place. The rebellion in Hydra and Maina was, in part at least, his fault; and he lacked wisdom and courage to retrace his steps by taking measures of conciliation, trusting perhaps that the maxims and practices of Russian despotism would carry him safely through the crisis he had brought upon himself. His conduct towards the Mavromichales family seems to me as impolitic as it was unjust; and he himself, according to the testimony of one who knew him well, and was with him to the end of his life, was conscious of the hopeless struggle in which he was engaged with his infuriated opponents, and foreboded the fate which impended over him. He suspected poison; but, as Zinkeisen well remarks, "In this he mistook the character of the people he had been called to govern. His death was the work of a burning desire of revenge, which can drive the desperate to the most dreadful deeds, but will seldom make use of uncertain means or the help of others for the attainment of its end."

It is scarcely necessary to add to this brief sketch of the four years' career of President Capo d'Istria, that his bloody death failed to restore peace to the distracted country, after the first fearful impression of so terrible a catastrophe had worn away. The provisional government at Nauplia was helpless, and the opposition at Hydra daily increased in strength. Augustine Capo d'Istria, brother of the murdered President, was placed at the head of the provisional government, — a measure which did not tend to the quiet of the country, since it was naturally supposed that he would merely attempt to carry out the arbitrary system of his brother. He had been employed by the President in many important offices, but had not shown much character or capacity; yet he did not fully go along with the President's violent politics during the last year, and was not so open to censure as Viaro Capo d'Istria. Nothing but the bloody death of his brother would have roused a moment's attention to Augustine; and it was hoped that he would at least moderate the violence of the government. The heads of the opposition, struck with horror by the assassination of the

President, and abating somewhat of the animosity of their feelings, made overtures of reconciliation, and promised submission to the decrees of a national congress. These overtures were coldly received. Measures were taken to secure, by persuasion and intimidation, a majority for the government in the Congress to assemble at Argos. The sixty deputies from Hydra were excluded. One of the Senators declared that the election was the result of force, and that such an assembly could be regarded only as a meeting of creatures of the government. The chiefs of the Roumeliotes, freely chosen in Western Greece as deputies to the Congress, — among them the most distinguished names in the war of the Revolution, Nothi and Costa Botzares, — and many others, made their solemn entry into Argos on the 8th and 9th of November, at the head of a numerous retinue, and threatened, if the government should attempt to exclude them, to rally their ancient Pallecars, and appeal to arms. They were joined by Colettes, one of the provisional government, and other Senators, and had the countenance of General Church, who enjoyed the highest consideration among the old Capitani of Roumelia.

The session was opened with a speech by Augustine Capo d'Istria, on the 19th of December. The Roumeliote chiefs, who had been prevented from taking part in the Congress by the rejection of their propositions, joined in a counter-assembly, and proceeded to appoint a provisional government of their own. A conflict of arms took place in the streets of Argos on the 21st of December, which was interrupted on the 22d by a deluge of rain, recommenced the next day with early dawn, and lasted till night, with no decided result. The shedding of blood was stayed only by the interposition of the residents of the three powers, who, accompanied by Sir Stratford Canning, just arrived at Nauplia, succeeded in putting an end to hostilities for the moment. The Roumeliote deputies marched off to Corinth, and so ended the battle of the congresses at Argos, and the year 1831.

The opposition assembly met at Perachora, a place north of

the Isthmus, and immediately organized a government. They were joined by leaders and men from other quarters, and soon had a considerable military force at their command. Attempts were made by the representatives of the mediating powers to bring about a reconciliation, but in vain. Professor Thiersch, who had been for some time in Greece and enjoyed the confidence of all, was employed as a negotiator. He passed from Argos to Perachora, and employed all his powers of persuasion, holding many interviews with the chiefs of both parties, to prevent hostilities. But the Roumeliotes refused to submit to the government at Nauplia; and the government at Nauplia, or rather the President, relying upon the support of the great powers, refused all concession to their demands. Notwithstanding the formal recognition of the administration at Nauplia, as the only legal government, by the representatives of the foreign powers, the Roumeliote army, under Colettes, entered Argos in triumph early in April; the government vanished; Capo d'Istria resigned, and, on the 15th of April, took passage, with the dead body of his brother, on board a Russian vessel for Corfou. After a short stay in his native town he embarked for Naples, and thence travelled, by way of Constantinople and Odessa, to St. Petersburg. So ended the six months of anarchy under the second Capo d'Istria, and so came about the final settlement of the affairs of Greece.

King Louis of Bavaria, who made himself a little notorious a few years before by sacrificing a crown for a pair of heels, was always a liberal friend of Greece. He alone of the monarchs of Europe entered into her cause with ardor, and with no selfish object to be gained. He sent liberal supplies of money, and despatched Colonel Heideck, a distinguished officer, to aid the Greeks in disciplining their troops. Perhaps this Philhellenic zeal grew partly out of the passion for art which has made his name memorable, and his capital one of the most beautiful and attractive cities in Europe. His collections contain some of the glorious works of Grecian art, as well as many of the most precious products of modern painting; among the rest, those

fine archaic sculptures found among the ruins of the temple of Panhellenian Zeus, in Ægina. The attention of the plenipotentiaries was called to the court of Bavaria, early in 1832, by these circumstances, and by the fact that the king had three or four sons, besides the heir to his throne, available as kings. The correspondence was long, the protocols were endless. Without more special reference to details and dates, I will merely state the leading points in the arrangement. First, the King of Bavaria required that Greece should be made not a principality, but a kingdom, and that the elected sovereign should bear the title of King and Majesty; and this was agreed to. Some enlargement of the proposed boundaries was earnestly desired. Prince Otho, the second son of the king, was born June 1, 1815; and it became necessary to fix the period of his majority, and to determine the form of the regency, until that period should arrive. The plenipotentiaries decided upon the age of twenty; and meanwhile the king determined to send three of his ablest men, Armansperg, Von Maurer, and Heideck, to carry on the government in the name of the sovereign. A loan of sixty millions of francs was to be guaranteed by the three powers; and an army of thirty-five hundred men to be enrolled, at the charge of the Greeks, for the maintenance of order in the new kingdom. Greece was to form a monarchical and hereditary state, the crown descending to the sons of Otho, according to the law of primogeniture, — in case of the failure of heirs, then to the next brother and his sons, according to the same principle; with only this restriction, that the crowns of Greece and Bavaria should in no case be united. The troops of the allies then in Greece were to be withdrawn on the arrival of the Bavarians.

All these, and many other details, were embodied in a treaty, signed in London on the 7th of May, and ratified a few weeks afterward. A National Assembly was summoned, and met in July at Pronœa, one of the suburbs of Nauplia, a place of greater security than Argos. Among the members, the most distinguished names were those of Alexander Mavrocordatos

and Spiridon Tricoupi. On the 8th of August, 1832, Prince Otho of Bavaria was solemnly acknowledged as King of Greece. As soon as the decree to this effect was read, the whole assembly rose, and with one voice cried out, "A long life and a happy reign to Otho the First, King of Greece." The National Assembly, after many stormy scenes, which still threatened the quiet of the country, adjourned on the 1st of September. A deputation, consisting of Admiral Miaoules, General Costa Botzares, and Demetrius Plapoutas, was sent to Munich, to communicate the loyal adhesion of the Greek nation to the elected sovereign. The state of Greece imperatively required the presence of the king and the regents, as the only means of putting an end to the still remaining discords, and restoring tranquillity and prosperity to the long-agitated country; but there were so many formalities to be attended to, so many preparations to be made, so many points to be settled,—among others, a question of boundary still unadjusted with the Porte, and the unfinished arrangements for the loan,—that King Otho was unable to commence his journey until the 6th of December. Travelling through Florence, Rome, Naples, and everywhere received with the honors due to his rank, he arrived in the harbor of Nauplia on the 30th of January, 1833, and landed with his regency on the 6th of February on the soil of Greece, amidst the enthusiastic welcomes of the Grecian people. "A happy day," says a Greek writer, "in which the Hellenic nation, after three hundred and eighty years of separation from their royal throne, were deemed worthy to enjoy their own monarch, and saw at length, with unspeakable exultation and with deep gratitude to the Most High, their longings fulfilled, their patience rewarded, and the agonies of four centuries crowned with triumph."

Such excited hopes could not fail of being disappointed, under the most favorable auspices; and the disappointment is not chargeable wholly to the king and his ministers. The treaty by which he was placed on the throne contains not a single word about the constitutional rights of the Greek nation. In

some of the protocols, indefinite allusions are made to the formation of wise political institutions, to governing by good laws, and the like. The King of Bavaria, writing to the assembly which had acknowledged the sovereignty of his son, and which, before Otho's arrival, had taken some steps towards the framing of a new constitution, requested them to postpone further action on this subject, until they could have the personal co-operation of the king. But, I repeat it, in the treaty itself there is not one word about the security of the fundamental rights of the Greek nation; and Otho arrived in Greece with a regency of three Bavarians and a disciplined army, with powers as unlimited as the despotism of Russia. If a youth, not yet eighteen years old, educated in the Bavarian school of government, with three Bavarian statesmen, sent to govern a country just emerged from a desperate war, yet accustomed to a representative government, which, with all the faults of its imperfect administration, had carried the people triumphantly through the struggle, — sent at a time when the passions of parties were running high, and the fires of civil war had not yet been quenched, — when the assassination of the President, by members of a family whose legal rights he had violated, was still fresh in the memory of all, — failed to realize ardent hopes, and if vehement passions were again aroused, the blame is not to be thrown chiefly on the king, but in great part, at least, on those who put him there. The regency entered upon their task with vigor, and met the multitudinous difficulties of their position with greater success than could have been expected. They divided the kingdom into ten Nomoi, or provinces; these they subdivided into forty, since reduced to thirty, Eparchies, or cantons; and these again into four hundred and fifty-three Demoi, or communes; under the presidency of Nomarchs, Eparchs, and Demarchs respectively. The military and naval departments were reorganized, not without many difficulties, arising from the resistance of the irregular native warriors to the tactics and discipline, as well as the uniform, of European troops. The administration of justice was

organized chiefly by Mr. Von Maurer, a gentleman to whom Greece is deeply indebted in this regard, and one who, since the period of the regency expired, has been the foremost statesman for ability and integrity in the kingdom of Bavaria. Public instruction and ecclesiastical affairs also occupied his attention; and the wise and liberal provisions made in both of these departments have been most useful to the reviving civilization of the country.

The discontent with the government of the regents did not limit itself to words; local movements against them took place, but were easily suppressed. A conspiracy was at length arranged, at the head of which were Colocotrones and Plapoutas. They were arrested, tried, and condemned to death, in March, 1834, but pardoned by the king. These were not the only troubles of the new government. A division took place in the regency itself, which, however, produced no important results in the country, and the subject of which was referred to the arbitration of the King of Bavaria. It was not until 1833 that the Turks evacuated Attica, Eubœa, and Lamia, which had been occupied by them since the cessation of hostilities. In the beginning of 1835, the seat of government, which had up to this time continued at Nauplia, was removed to Athens; and on the 1st of June, the same year, the king, having attained the period of his majority, as determined by the plenipotentiaries in London, assumed the reins of government and addressed the Greek people in a proclamation full of devotion to his adopted country. The liveliest hopes were excited anew by this event, and exaggerated anticipations were indulged of the coming glory of his reign.

In the following year the king was married to the Princess Amelia, daughter of the Grand Duke of Oldenburg, then about seventeen years old, and one of the most beautiful princesses in Europe. This charming person had, from early childhood, taken the deepest interest in the fortunes of Greece. She had carefully read the accounts of the war of independence in the journals, and had even formed a complete history of the period

by cutting out the paragraphs from the public prints and arranging them in order. When she heard of the election of Otho, — being then only fourteen years old, — she exclaimed, with the simplicity of that attractive age, "How I should like to be the queen!" The words were prophetic of her destiny. In one of his long visits to his native country the king met the princess at a watering-place, and became acquainted with her. As a very natural result an engagement ensued, under circumstances of personal intimacy and reciprocal affection quite unusual with royal personages. They were married on the 22d of November, 1836, and, having remained in Germany about two months, were conveyed from Trieste to Peiræus in an English frigate, arriving on the 14th of February, 1837. The next day the royal pair entered Athens under triumphal arches decorated with laurel and myrtle branches, amidst the huzzas of the whole population. It was among the interesting incidents of the occasion that the king and queen were welcomed by a hymn sung by the children of the school established by the American missionaries; and the first crown placed on the head of their Majesties was a crown of flowers wreathed by the pupils of Dr. King.

The youthful beauty, grace, and enthusiasm of the queen readily won the love of her subjects. The dream of her childhood was now realized; she who had sympathized so deeply with the struggles of this oppressed nation, and in the simplicity of her heart had breathed her maiden wish to share the fortunes of the young prince, now found herself raised to the throne of Greece, — the object of love and hope to an enthusiastic and excitable people, — ruling in that famous Athens so illustrious in human history, so unfortunate in the vicissitudes of time; so long oppressed by Romans, Franks, Turks, so lately held by turbaned infidels, and now the regenerated capital of a Christian state. She has now reigned seventeen years. The loveliness of early youth has given place to a splendid and queenly beauty, unequalled on any throne in Europe. Her countenance is still fresh with the rosy hues of

youth; her smile is gracious and enchanting. With health that never fails, with spirits that never flag, with manners that never lose their charm, — the best rider and the most indefatigable dancer in all Hellas, — wherever she appears, the most superb woman, be the others who they may, bearing the fatigues of travelling among the mountains of Greece better than any man, welcomed with dance and song by the lovely village maidens on the slopes of Parnassus and the valleys of Bœotia, sharing in their rustic feasts, feeling the full inspiration of Hellenic traditions and of the glorious scenery with which they are associated, — with a heart as daring as a Pallecar's, a courage that knows no fear, — the Queen of Greece, blamed as she may have been by politicians and diplomatists, would adorn the throne of Constantinople, on which her subjects hope to place her.

LECTURE XI.

FIRST YEARS OF OTHO'S REIGN. — CONSTITUTION OF 1844. — GREECE SINCE 1843.

Notwithstanding the omission of securities for the civil rights of the Greeks in the treaty by which Otho was placed on the throne, there was a general expectation among the people that a new constitution would be formed, — in other words, that the government of Otho would be a constitutional government. But the regency found enough to do in organizing the country and adjusting the administration of the different departments, and perhaps had no abstract predilection for representative constitutions. After the term of their administration expired, and the king assumed the government himself, the forms they had established continued in force, and the king conducted the administration through a council of state and a ministry appointed by, and responsible to, himself. That a great error was thus committed at the outset, and repeated on the king's reaching his majority, is now quite evident. The dissensions of the Greeks under their provisional governments, the factions and civil contests which broke out under President Capo d'Istria, leading to his murder and to the overthrow of his brother and successor, showed clearly enough what formidable difficulties the new ruler would have to encounter, and what chaotic elements he would be required to compose into order and harmony. But the great points of the security of person and property, the equality of citizens before the law, the equitable apportionment of taxes, religious toleration, and judicial trial, were established in the first Constitution of Epidaurus, and in the amended Constitu-

tions which followed it. The king had — what Capo d'Istria had not — a strong military force, officered by Europeans, and amply sufficient to maintain order; and he might have called a national assembly, with a good degree of certainty that the public peace would not be violated. But it must be remembered that he was a German prince, educated in German ideas of government; that he was placed on the throne with no obligation laid upon him to call a national assembly; that the advisers of his minority had made no advances towards a constitution; and that the machine of bureaucratic administration was in working order when he took it into his own hands. I may add, that the influence of all the foreign diplomatists, except those of France and England, was decidedly averse to constitutional, representative government; that of Russia, who had made the first motion towards the settlement of Grecian affairs, most resolutely so. I mention these things, not to defend, but to explain, the course of the king. Had a practical and liberal statesman from England been placed on the throne of Greece with sufficient support, had Leopold not felt himself compelled to abdicate, or had Mavrocordatos been made king, with the support of the foreign powers, I believe that most of the troubles under which Greece has suffered since the accession of Otho would have been spared her.

The presence of a large body of foreign troops, with numerous officers paid from the treasury of Greece, soon began to excite the jealousy and alarm of the native soldiery. They felt that a swarm of hungry adventurers were eating the bread which should have been theirs and their children's; and the whole country, except the persons who drew their support from the existing order, saw with indignation the loan, the annual interest of which consumed no small fraction of the revenues of the country, wasting away in the support of a horde of foreign officials and the costly pomps of a court. The Greeks consoled themselves as well as they could by the equivoque of Bavarian and Barbarian; and one of their wittiest dramatic authors wrote a comedy called "The Fortune-Hunter," in

which the Bavarian adventurers were severely lashed. Then came the building of an expensive palace, quite out of proportion to the extent and resources of the kingdom, but deemed necessary by the old King of Bavaria to maintain the splendor of the throne. The demands upon the treasury soon exhausted the loan, and yet few of the public works were executed which had been planned by the regency.

The most important, nay, an indispensable requisite toward developing the resources of the country, was to facilitate the intercourse between the interior and the seaports, by opening good roads. The regency gave special attention to this subject, and caused surveys and plans to be made for seven great roads, connecting the most important points throughout the kingdom, namely: 1. From Patras, through Sparta, to Marathonisi; 2. From Navarino, through Megalopolis and Tripolitza, to Corinth; 3. A road to connect with one from Nauplia; 4. From Athens, by Thebes and Lebadeia, to Agrinium, Vrachori, Ambracia, and Vonitza; 5. From Thebes to Chalcis; 6. From Salona to Zeitoun, or Lamia; 7. From Agrinium to Mesolongi. Nothing could have been wiser than this measure. If it had been carried into effect, it would have given an immense impulse to the material prosperity of Greece, and have indefinitely enhanced the value of lands all over the country, and among the rest that of the national domain; not only making the people richer by stimulating enterprise to an incalculable degree, but placing the government in the possession of means to carry forward, on a still grander scale, a system of internal improvements. But the work was not done. At the present moment, the only roads in Greece over which a carriage can pass, excepting three or four of a few miles in length near Athens, are one from Athens to Thebes, one of six miles across the Isthmus of Corinth, one from Athens to Megara, and one from Argos to Nauplia. The last was built by Count Capo d'Istria, and was an excellent road; but it has been allowed to fall into decay, and the traveller must be on his guard not to fall through the holes in the bridges.

The estates of the Turks, after they had withdrawn from the country, became the national domain. These, compared with the whole country, are very extensive; and when the government was established, large bodies of Greeks in the provinces still under Turkey were solicitous to emigrate, and settle on the vacant lands. A wise policy would have encouraged this disposition, by enabling the new-comers to acquire property in land on easy terms. But no; except in the case of a few limited sales, and some donations to friends of the court, — mostly foreigners, — the administration would not part with the national property, forgetting or never knowing that the true wealth of a government consists in the number and prosperity of its subjects. The public lands have always been farmed out, the tenants paying to the government twenty per cent of the products, — a wretched system, because, in the first place, it renders it the interest of the tenant for the time being to get as much as possible, and to make no permanent improvements; and in the next place, because the collection of these taxes in kind is a most wasteful operation, causing not only great losses to the cultivators, but still greater, perhaps, to the government. Another important branch of the public revenue — the tenth of the products of all private lands — is collected in the same ruinous manner. The consequence of this state of things is that agriculture is in a miserably low condition all over Greece; while three fourths of the people must of necessity subsist by the cultivation of the soil. They can live by it, but that is nearly all. They cannot send their products to market, over the mountains, on the backs of mules, without its costing them almost the whole value of the load. They cannot, therefore, surround themselves with the comforts and luxuries of life, procured by foreign exchanges. They live on the products of their lands. They have no furniture, except the few rude articles made by their own hands; and few clothes, except the sheep-skin dresses they prepare themselves, and the coarse woollen fabrics, spun with hand-spindles, exactly like those described by Homer, and woven in looms equally simple and rude.

Greece had one important defence against the centralizing and despotic system adopted by the Bavarians, — her small municipal organizations, remaining from the earliest times, and not overthrown even by the Turks. These chose their local magistrates, and controlled a variety of local affairs, after the manner of the town and parish organizations in New England. The municipalities presented points of resistance to the encroachments of autocracy, which neither the king's Bavarian ministers, nor those Greeks who had been persuaded or seduced to abandon the true interests of the country, were able to overcome.

The government of King Otho, though it restored peace to the country, cannot be regarded as a practically good one. When we consider the inevitable corruptions and peculations of the agents of such an administration, it is not surprising that discontent speedily broke out very extensively. The people rightly felt that they were defrauded of their just control over their own affairs; that the government had most of the features of a despotism, though not a violent one; that their resources, instead of being expended for the improvement of the country, went to the support of a numerous body of officials, most of whom were dishonest; while the absence of a system of accountability and publicity deprived them of any legal remedy. In short, it was the universal feeling among the people, that despotism and corruption were fast undoing the work which they had suffered so long and deeply to accomplish.

So things went on for ten years from the time of the king's accession to the throne. England and France, in a more liberal spirit than had actuated them at the outset, especially under the influence of Lord Aberdeen and M. Guizot, endeavored to procure the recognition of popular rights by the government, advising the king to grant the long-delayed Constitution. But, unfortunately for the reputation and dignity of the king, other counsels prevailed until the year 1843. The dissatisfaction of the country had then reached its height. The

loan had been expended, and other large debts contracted. The annual expenditure had greatly exceeded the revenue, the excess in seven years having amounted to about thirty millions of drachmas, or five millions of dollars, and national bankruptcy stared them in the face. A universal determination was formed to have a Constitution, at all events, while there was an equally general purpose not to violate the respect due to their Majesties. The people then, as now, separated the persons of the king and queen from the policy of their government. Combinations and arrangements were entered into among the civil and military authorities to effect the changes called for by the country, but to use no more force than was necessary for the purpose. Foreign residents were so impressed with the state of things, that they anticipated the speedy dethronement of the king; and in fact an attack on General Kalergi — then holding the office of Inspector of Cavalry, well known as an opponent of the Bavarian system, and very popular with the army — excited no little indignation against the Bavarians, who had dictated it.

Kalergi was still a young man. He is descended from a Cretan family of great distinction. When the Greeks took up arms, he was a student in Germany, and only fifteen years old; but he resolved to accompany his two older brothers in fighting for the liberties of his country. He exhibited at once, not only the most undaunted courage, but the highest qualities of a military leader. He commanded a division in the attack upon the Turkish army which besieged Athens in 1827; and in the battle of the 6th of May he had a leg broken by a rifle-ball, and received a sabre-cut in the arm. With the other prisoners, he was ordered to be beheaded the next morning, and being unable to walk, was actually carried to the place of execution on the back of an Albanian. When the order was issued for his decapitation, he said to the Albanian who had made him prisoner, that he would give a hundred thousand piasters — between four and five thousand dollars — for his ransom. The Albanian claimed him as his property, and the

Pacha was obliged to yield; but in order to leave a pleasant memorial of the interview, before dismissing him he cut off one of his ears. This gallant young man — who then lay in the power of the Turks, with a broken leg, a sabred arm, and an ear slit off — was destined to be the leader in one of the most remarkable scenes of modern times, and is now a cabinet minister at the head of the department of war. He was equally distinguished in the exploits of peace. In the year 1826, two young chiefs, of the old and powerful family of Notaras, John and Panayotoki, cousins, were in love with a young heiress and her currant crops, and carried their rivalry so far as to involve the Isthmus of Corinth, where the currants and the lady were, in a civil war. While the powerful chieftain Colocotrones espoused one side of the quarrel, and Zaines, the President of the National Assembly, the other, the gallant Kalergi, with the full consent of the lady, ended the war without bloodshed by espousing the heiress himself.

Some intimation of the intended movement reached the government, and several arrests were ordered on the night of the 14th of September, 1843. This action was seized upon as the occasion or pretext for the long-meditated revolution. Kalergi hastily summoned the officers, and put the garrison in motion, amidst loud cries of *Ζήτω τὸ σύνταγμα*, — "Long life to the Constitution!" — which were responded to by the large bodies of citizens now rapidly gathering from every quarter of the city. Kalergi marched his troops, accompanied by the citizens, to the square in front of the palace. In a few moments the artillery sent for by the king appeared, and, to his astonishment and dismay, the guns were pointed to the palace, and the artillerymen cried out, "Long life to the Constitution!" The king, appearing at the window, demanded the cause of the disturbance and of this parade of the garrison. Kalergi replied, so as to be heard by the whole multitude, "The people of Greece and the army desire that your Majesty will redeem the promise that the country should be governed constitutionally." At this moment one of the king's Bavarian attendants

levelled a musket at the intrepid speaker. The king calmly and wisely struck it up. Had a single shot been fired from the palace, — as I have been told by those who witnessed the scene, — not one stone would have been left upon another. The prudence of the king saved the lives of those who were with him, perhaps his own, — certainly the longer existence of his government. He then ordered the troops to retire to their quarters, promising to consult with the ministers, the Council of State, and the ambassadors of the three protecting powers. But Kalergi replied that "neither the garrison of Athens nor the people would quit the spot until his Majesty's decision should be made known." At this moment Captain Hess, a Bavarian officer, came forward and said, "General Kalergi, this is not the manner in which it is becoming for you to speak to his Majesty." Kalergi, in no very favorable mood to be lectured on manners, replied, "Draw in your head, sir; you and such as you have brought the king and country into the present unfortunate condition." Captain Hess did draw in his head, and never showed it afterwards in Greece; but it was no great loss.

The Council of State, meantime, had been discussing the great question, what was to be done in this emergency. They were not unanimous; but the constitutional party, led by General Church, Londos, and Rhegas Palamedes, were in the majority, and at last all united in drawing up a proclamation, a list of a new ministry to be recommended to the king, and an address advising his Majesty to call a national assembly to prepare a constitution. Before the king's answer was given, the carriages of the foreign ministers appeared at the gates of the palace, but were politely and firmly refused admittance. All submitted quietly except the Minister of Prussia, who persisted, with harsh and disrespectful language, to demand admittance to his Majesty. Kalergi, getting out of patience, finished the scene by telling the minister that "his advice had generally been unfortunate, and he was afraid the king had had too much of it lately." Upon this the diplomatic gentle-

men stepped into their carriages, and drove off, amidst the laughter of the people, who maintained the most perfect good-humor through the whole affair. The king signed the ordinances appointing a new ministry and convoking a national assembly. The troops, having been thirteen hours under arms, marched back to their barracks; the citizens dispersed to their houses; the business of the city was not interrupted for an hour; the courts sat without the slightest disturbance; and no tumults took place in the country. A chief, named Griziotes, who was on his way from Eubœa to the capital, with more than a thousand irregular troops, hearing that the object had been accomplished, enjoined his followers to return to their homes, and asked leave "to come alone to obey the law, and not to give it." The next night the city was illuminated, and great rejoicings celebrated the event, without a single outbreak of violence. In the same moderate spirit of tranquil triumph the great constitutional victory was commemorated all over the country; and the 15th of September was thenceforth added to the national festivals. This revolution was accomplished without shedding a drop of blood, without even disturbing the quiet of a single citizen, except that of a person named Tzinos, who had made himself odious as chief of police by his cruelties, having caused several persons to be put to the torture. He took shelter in the palace, but was given up and merely sent away to one of the islands; and the only uneasiness manifested anywhere was the opposition made by that island — Tenos — to receiving such a scoundrel on its shores.

The king and queen drove out the next day as usual, and were cheered by the people. The new ministry entered upon their functions; the Bavarians were dismissed, and many of them took the Austrian steamer for home in less than a week. The National Assembly was convoked for the 13th of November, the members to be chosen according to the electoral law in force during the presidency of Capo d'Istria. Lord Aberdeen wrote a long letter to the British Minister, Sir Edmund Lyons, communicating the views of the British government,

and a summary of the chief points they thought should be embodied in the constitution about to be established. This despatch was confidentially communicated to the king, who took several opportunities of assuring Sir Edmund "that he sincerely embraced the constitutional system of government." It may be mentioned as one of the singular features of this revolution, that the whole amount of the extraordinary expense was only seven thousand dollars.

The elections resulted most satisfactorily. The best men, almost without exception, were chosen. The Assembly was opened on the 20th of November by the king in person, accompanied by his ministers, and in the presence of the diplomatic body, all of whom attended except the Russian legation. In fact, Russia had totally withheld her sanction from constitutional proceedings, not only at Athens, but through her ministers at the other courts. The king's speech was conceived in a most excellent spirit, and raised his popularity to the highest point; and the marks of affection and respect everywhere accorded to their Majesties, then and whenever they appeared in public, deeply impressed them. The Assembly, consisting of two hundred and twenty-five members, was organized by choosing as President, almost by acclamation, Mr. Panoutsos Notaras, an eminent patriot, who took arms at the opening of the revolution, being then eighty-four years old; who had been a member of all the preceding national assemblies; who now, at the age of one hundred and seven, had been chosen as member from his native province, Corinth, and elected President of the Constitutional Assembly. Four vice-presidents were appointed, — Mavrocordatos, Metaxas, Colettes, and Londos. Sir Edmund Lyons, in a despatch of December 6, says: "The veteran President, the vice-presidents, and the secretaries of the National Assembly dined with me yesterday, and they were in high good humor, and in confident hope of bringing the Assembly to a satisfactory close within a month."

I doubt if any constitutional assembly ever showed more ability or patriotism, or a more earnest and conscientious deter-

mination to decide honestly upon the great questions laid before them, than did that Assembly of 1843 in Athens. The record of their discussions would compare very favorably with the debates of any other assembly of which I have any knowledge; and the manners of the deputies, as described by those who had the best opportunity of observing them, the absence of party spirit, and the singleness of their aim for the country's good, place them, in true dignity of character and patriotism of motive, on a level with the very best men ever called to so high a trust and function. The history of this convention is one of the most instructive and remarkable chapters in the annals of that people; and I would gladly recommend it to the perusal of any one who questions whether the Greek nation is fitted to live under a constitutional government. I think that the reader would admit that they are better fitted to live under a constitution than under a barbarocracy, as they called the government of the irresponsible *camarilla* of Bavaria. The draft of the Constitution was submitted to the Assembly on January 15, and, after being carefully discussed, was laid before the king on the 4th of March. It was thoroughly studied by his Majesty, and returned by him with the suggestion of a few changes. On the 16th of March, 1844, to the great joy of the nation, it was formally accepted by the king. A deputation immediately waited upon his Majesty, and expressed, in fervid and eloquent language, the thanks and gratitude of the Assembly.

The Constitution embodies all the securities which were incorporated into the earlier forms, with such other principles as the actual state of the country made necessary. The settlement of Otho and his family on the throne is confirmed. The Oriental Church is the established religion, but all other religions are tolerated. Proselyting and attacks upon the established religion are forbidden. No titles of nobility are to be created. All Greeks are declared equal in the eye of the law, and personal liberty is inviolable. The ninth article declares that, in Greece, man is not bought and sold. A serf or a

slave, whatever may be his nationality or his religion, is free from the moment that he sets foot on Hellenic ground. The press is free, and a censorship cannot be established. Public instruction is at the charge of the state. Torture and confiscation cannot be introduced, and the secrecy of letters is inviolable. The legislative power is divided between the king, the Chamber of Deputies, called *Boule*, and the Senate, or *Gerousia;* but all money bills must originate with the deputies. The king has the usual powers, under the usual restrictions, of a constitutional monarch. His person is inviolable, but his ministers may be impeached for maladministration. He is the executive magistrate. In case of the failure of heirs and the vacancy of the throne, arrangement is made for the provisional appointment of a regent, and then for the election of a king by vote of the Assembly. The deputies are elected for three years. No one can be elected who has not reached the age of thirty years. The number of deputies is in such proportion to the population as may be fixed by law, but never to be less than eighty. The senators are appointed by the king for life. A considerable number of conditions and qualifications are prescribed for this office, for which the legal age is forty. The minimum number of senators is twenty-seven ; but the king may, when he sees fit, raise it to one half the number of the deputies. The princes of the blood and the heir presumptive of the crown are senators by right, as soon as they shall have completed their eighteenth year ; but they are to have no voice in the deliberations until they have completed their twenty-fifth year. The ministers are appointed by the king, with the usual responsibilities. Justice is administered by judges appointed by the king for life. Arguments before the tribunals are to be public, unless such publicity be deemed by the court dangerous to morals or public order. A judge can accept no salaried employment, except that of Professor in the University. Jury trial is preserved, without excepting from it either political crimes or offences of the press. No oath can be exacted without a law which prescribes and determines it. All cases of

conflicting jurisdiction shall be adjudged by the Areopagus, which is the supreme court, or court of final appeal.

I have thus selected a few of the principal provisions of the Constitution of Greece, established by the cordial co-operation of the king and people in 1844, and now the fundamental law of the land.

It is ten years since this representative Constitution went into effect. It has not yet produced all the good that was expected from it, simply because the needed reforms have not yet been made. The wretched system of taxation still remains in force; roads are still unbuilt or neglected; agriculture is still exceedingly imperfect. Although the population has increased from six or seven hundred thousand to nearly a million, the public lands are still extensively unsettled, because the policy of the government continues to be short-sighted and unwise. The country is embarrassed with debt, while it needs a large accession of capital. In short, it needs the application of that broad practical sense which distinguishes the English race. How much of the blame is to be ascribed to the king, how much to the people, and how much to the influence of neighboring powers hostile to popular progress, it would be difficult to decide. There are many corrupt men in Greece, who lend themselves willingly to any scheme which will put money into their pockets, — men who withstood the trials of war, but have been unable to resist the temptations of poverty. The king and queen, accustomed to govern absolutely, perhaps have not found it easy to accommodate themselves to the position of constitutional rulers. I have known cases in which the families of opposition senators have been coldly received at the palace; political opposition to the government being looked upon as personal hostility to the sovereign. This is contrary to the spirit of a constitutional government, though not quite unknown in countries now foremost in condemning the Greeks. What did Louis Napoleon do with those politicians who opposed him, while he was President of the French Republic? The castle of Vincennes and the penal colonies can

answer that question; for the very last legislative movement of the Chamber was from the national palace to the dungeon.

Since the inauguration of the Constitution, two or three disturbing events have taken place. In 1850 the port of Peiræus was blockaded by an English squadron, to compel the government to make compensation for damages done to the property of certain British subjects. The minister and his family left Athens, and remained for several months on board of the fleet. Great damage was done to Greek commerce by this harsh measure; and Lord Palmerston, who directed it, was not only severely censured at home, but made his name detested in Greece and throughout the East. The government at last paid the money under compulsion. I am not sufficiently familiar with the facts to form an opinion upon the justice of the proceeding; but I know that not only did the Greek government feel themselves aggrieved, but that the transaction placed the excellent minister and his amiable and accomplished family in unpleasant relations with the court, and naturally diminished the influence which so honorable and liberal a man — having so many scholarly sympathies with Greece, and so earnest a desire to promote the best interests of the country — ought to have exercised as the representative of the British nation. These troubles were not adjusted until last year; when the queen, sending for the ladies of Mr. Wyse's family, received them with great cordiality, and in an hour's informal conversation completely restored the former friendly relations.

The next unfortunate transaction was with our countryman Dr. King, the well-known American missionary in Greece. This gentleman, a man of the most rigid virtue, was one of the earliest friends of liberated Greece, having gone thither in 1828 as one of the agents of the Philhellenes, and remained in the country ever since. In 1830 he bought lands in Athens, portions of which, when the government removed from Nauplia to that city, were taken for public uses; and his just claims for compensation, under one pretext or another, were postponed. This was one branch of the unfortunate controversy;

the second was a theological difficulty. For some reason or other a portion of the Greek Church became hostile to Dr. King. Attacks upon him from time to time appeared from the press. He was charged with attempting to make proselytes, and with speaking ill of the established Church, and the popular passions began to be violently moved against him. A series of infamous lies was published in the "Aion," by a perjured miscreant named Simonides, who was convicted not long since of forging manuscripts, which he offered for sale, and whose character was stained by every vice that Oriental corruption ever generated. This wretch accused Dr. King of practising at his own house the most obscene and blasphemous rites, and of throwing contempt and ridicule upon the doctrines and ceremonies of the Church. Let me say at the outset, that, having heard all the facts on the spot, and having read all the documents, I became convinced there was not the slightest foundation, — I will not say, for the abominable stories of Simonides, but for the charges laid against him by the prosecuting officer. Every one who knows Dr. King knows that he is a sturdy specimen of the New England Puritan; and no one could be surprised to be told that New England orthodoxy and the practices of the Greek Church are not exactly in unison. Dr. King published a little pamphlet containing extracts from the Greek fathers, in which some of the dogmas of the Church are pointedly condemned; and occasional expressions of his own were interpreted into censures on the existing practices, regarded by him as idolatrous. If he spoke of the idolatry of the ancient heathen, suspicions, excited by the more fanatical portion of the priesthood and the press, immediately pointed the application to the pictures in the Greek churches. On one occasion a number of young priests in their robes went to his house to hear him preach. It was a preconcerted plan to draw him out. As the service went on, they interrupted him by asking questions. Some of them he answered; but as he noticed that a mob was collecting about his house, and that furious clamors were raised, he declined continuing the discussion,

and proposed meeting them on another and more appropriate day. The tumult increased, and signs of violence began to be shown. Dr. King, who was then and still is acting vice-consul of the United States, bethought himself of the United States flag, which he forthwith unrolled from his window. The effect was magical. The mob were silenced and took to their heels; and the young priests fled, their black robes fluttering in the breeze like streamers, running as if they expected a broadside from Captain Ingraham. Dr. King finished the services in peace. But he was brought to trial two years ago; and the whole trial, from its inception to its close, was a scandal and a shame to the courts of Athens. The most absurd and irrelevant testimony was introduced; and the words of the law were tortured into the most arbitrary misapplication to the facts of the case, in the written decision of the lower court. Dr. King was found guilty, and on appeal to the court of the Areopagus, the highest tribunal in Greece, the sentence, with a slight modification, was confirmed. To one reading the evidence, the Constitution, and the laws, the whole proceeding seems a mockery of justice, and draws with it a conclusion of base ingratitude towards one of the best and most honorable friends of Greece. One cannot look at it in any aspect without astonishment, that grave judges of the highest court in Athens could have come to such a decision on such evidence, or rather in such utter absence of all respectable evidence; and the only explanation is — and that is poor enough — that it is one of those exceptional cases which deform the judicial history of every country, in which passion and prejudice have overborne the laws of evidence and the principles of justice. In truth, the charges are so ridiculous, one can only wonder that decent men should ever have consented to bring the case forward, or that a decent court could have hesitated for a moment to turn it ignominiously out of doors. The final decision was given in February, 1852, sentencing Dr. King to fourteen days' imprisonment, the costs of trial, and banishment from the country.

Now this case is very bad. It could not well be worse. I have not a word to say in apology for it. It is thoroughly disgraceful to those who were concerned in it. But it was not the work of the Greek nation, nor of the court; the blame belongs to a fanatical faction of the Church and people, to an unprincipled editor, and to foreign intriguers. I read the proceedings with the same loathing and contempt with which I read at Constance the proceedings of the council there, which condemned John Huss to the flames, — with which I read the proceedings of our own courts, which condemned nineteen innocent persons to be hanged for witchcraft. And, on the other hand, I was pleased to find that no attempt had been made to carry the sentence into execution; that Dr. King walked the streets of Athens, when I arrived there last year, with as little fear as I did; that he preached at his own house excellent sermons every Sunday, to all who chose to hear him; that twelve of the most distinguished lawyers at the Athenian bar subcribed a paper in which they declared their opinion, in the most unequivocal manner, that the decision of the lower court established an absurd principle, and that the court of the Areopagus committed a very serious error in refusing to overrule it. This, I think, is not a little creditable to the independence of the Athenian bar. The government of the United States instructed our Minister at Constantinople, Mr. Marsh, to proceed to Athens, and examine the subject on the spot. He did so, and went through the work with so much thoroughness and ability, — examining the Constitution, the laws, the proceedings of both courts, and all the facts in the case, — that he left the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Paicos, not an inch of ground to stand upon, when he attempted a feeble justification. The claim of compensation for land taken was disposed of with equal thoroughness and ability. Indeed, while I was in Athens, I heard more than once the greatest astonishment expressed at the familiarity Mr. Marsh exhibited with Athenian law, and the masterly manner in which he conducted the discussion. Having said this much, I will add, that I cannot concur in the

general censure which our Minister cast upon the whole Greek nation, nor in the charge of false pretences and bad faith which, in his correspondence, he more than intimated against the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Before the decision of the government was made known, Mr. Marsh was recalled from the place he filled with such distinguished ability, and succeeded by a man who, totally ignorant of the languages and laws of the East, had, as I have been told, the wisdom to demand a settlement of the Greek government on the basis laid down by Mr. Marsh. I believe that the matter has been entirely adjusted by the unconditional remission of the sentence and payment for the land.

The most recent difficulty of the Greek government is that which occurred last spring, on occasion of the outbreak in Thessaly and Epeirus, when the Greeks were charged with violating their neutrality by affording assistance to the rebels in those provinces. In point of fact, many Greeks, among them several officers, joined their countrymen in the attempt to throw off the yoke of Turkey; and I have no doubt that they were encouraged by the agents of Russia. But how far the king lent his countenance to the violation of neutrality, I am unable as yet to make up my mind. There are, however, two sides to every question. The presses of the allied powers now universally condemn the Greeks, both those in the kingdom of Greece and those who seized the opportunity of attempting to emancipate themselves. I expressed the opinion, in a former Lecture, that the Greeks have a perfect right to rise against the Turks whenever they find themselves able to do so, in spite of the treaty of the European powers replacing them under the government of the Porte, to which they not only were not parties, but which aroused their burning indignation, and inspired them with a firm resolve to strike again for liberty and independence when the hour of redemption should come. I was in the North of Greece, in the neighborhood of the insurrection, last year, and I had many conversations with the people. They did not hesitate to speak out fully, when they

knew that I was an American. Besides many others, I became acquainted with a family named Demakedes, — four brothers, — the eldest of whom owns Thermopylæ. I passed three days with him on that famous spot, and had many a long talk on all sorts of subjects. He told me about his family, their property in the Turkish provinces, the difficulties and embarrassments of living under the Turkish government, and the intense desire they all felt to be free. Among other domestic details, he informed me that he and his three brothers were unmarried. As they were men of large property, very intelligent, handsome, gentlemanlike, and social, I was not a little surprised, and made some laughing remonstrance on such a neglect of the primal duties of citizenship. "Sir," said he very seriously, "we resolved not to marry, in order that, when the moment came to strike for liberty, we might have no domestic hinderances to keep us from doing our part for the emancipation of our country." That was the spirit of the people in those provinces, and most assuredly that was not born of Russian influence. Returning to Athens, I expressed to some friends there my belief that there would be a rising in the North as soon as hostilities commenced between Russia and Turkey. They thought I had been quizzed by talkative Greeks; but the first news I heard from Greece, after my return to the West of Europe, was that an insurrection had broken out in Thessaly and Epeirus. I was not surprised; for, though no politician, I was very sure that four handsome, rich, intelligent, high-spirited brothers, and those brothers young Greeks and full of the old Hellenic love of beauty, did not remain bachelors for nothing. In spite of the alliance of France and England to uphold the integrity of the Turkish Empire, I could not help wishing the insurgents success; and when I heard that several hundred students from the University of Athens had left their books, and rushed to the frontier, I was not quite sure that, if I had been in Athens, as I was a few weeks before, I should not have gone too, — to look after them, I mean.

The Ministers of France and England, of course, under existing circumstances, could not avoid interfering with a strong hand. They are bound by the treaty of 1832, which defines the frontier, and they could not well allow it to be violated by a kingdom which they had themselves created. Their interviews with the king and queen were much more vivacious than diplomatic interviews usually are. They hinted that it might be necessary to take possession of the capital with an army of occupation. The queen protested, that, if any such outrage were committed upon Greece, she would leave her palace, put herself at the head of the army, unfurl the banner of emancipation, and appeal to the whole Hellenic race; and it was with difficulty that she could be calmed down to a more diplomatic state of mind by her husband and friends. In the days of chivalry, thousands of gallant knights would have rallied round her; but the age of chivalry is gone, and the age of protocols has succeeded. The threat of the diplomatists has been executed, and the queen has not taken arms. French regiments are now quartered at Peiræus, and a body of English troops at Patras.

The Greeks have enjoyed the freedom of the press ever since the days of the Turks. Before the adoption of the Constitution, the government made one vain attempt to check its license; since, neither king nor minister has dreamed of repeating the attempt, even when its attacks upon their measures and persons surpassed the bitterness of the English and American political newspapers. How is it under the occupation of Louis Napoleon? I had a letter by the last steamer from Athens, in which the following sentences occur. "The French Admiral, the other day, sent up a file of soldiers from the French camp at the Peiræus, and carried off Mr. Philemon, the editor of the 'Aion,' and all his presses and types. Philemon was detained a prisoner on board the Admiral's ship, and allowed to see no one but his own family. After a detention of three weeks, he was permitted to return home, upon giving his promise that he would not resume his paper without the permission of Baron Rouen. . . . . Subsequently, the paper con-

ducted by Mr. Levides, called the 'Elpis,' was stopped by order of the French Minister." Now, supposing the occupation of Greece to be justifiable by the law of nations, is there anything to justify this violent interference with the constitutional rights of citizens? Outrageous, however, as this is, I cannot help admiring the retributive justice which has fallen on the head of Philemon. This man was the most active and malignant persecutor of Dr. King. His was the press which roused against one of the best of men the tempest of fanatical passion, which might have cost him his life; and now he and his press are in durance vile, under the armed hand which does not strike lightly or in vain.

One good effect, however, of these complications with England and France is the change of ministry at Athens. The former ministers were not destitute of ability. Mr. Paicos, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, is regarded as a good citizen and a man of virtuous private life; but his correspondence with Mr. Marsh is wanting in business-like directness, and shows no striking ability. The Minister of Education and Religion was accused of venality. The Cabinet, collectively, were not friendly to the just and fair operation of the Constitution. They were accused, and I believe justly, of interfering in the popular elections by bribery and intimidation. The custom-house officers were instructed to grant privileges to traders who voted for the government candidates, — the government candidates being openly designated by the Cabinet. While I was travelling through Greece, the elections for the Assembly now in session were going on. I not only heard the comments of the people, but saw the way in which the soldiery, stationed at different points of the country, under pretence of keeping order, occupied themselves in bringing up to the polls ragamuffins who had been furnished with the government ballot. Whether they took me for one of this class, I do not know; but as I was watching the proceedings one day in Athens, a ballot was placed in my hand by these accommodating gentlemen, and I suppose I might have had the grat-

ification of helping to elect the honorable representatives of the capital. I preferred, however, to give the document a place among my Athenian curiosities.

The present ministry contains the leaders of the liberal or constitutional party. Mavrocordatos, the hero and statesman, lately Minister to France, is at the head of the Cabinet. Pericles Argyropoulos, Professor of Law in the University, and a very able and honorable man, is the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Mr. Psyllas, a Senator, and the most eloquent member of that body, is Minister of Religion and Education. General Kalergi, whom I have already sketched, is Minister of War. The other members of the Cabinet I know only by name; but a Cabinet which numbers four such men as I have just mentioned will do honor to any country. Alexander Mavrocordatos has one of the oldest and most illustrious names, which his own abilities, character, and exploits have made still more illustrious than he received it from his fathers. Pericles Argyropoulos belongs to an old Fanariot family, is one of the most eminent lawyers and professors, has been President of the University, and is probably the best teacher of law they ever had. He is a gentleman of spotless honor, amiable manners, and accomplished mind. Mr. Psyllas has received from his countrymen the name of Aristeides the Just, as a token of their profound recognition of his incorruptible integrity. He had long been the leader of the opposition, — by his honesty, firmness, and powerful eloquence, the most formidable antagonist that the government recently overthrown ever had to encounter. To the hands of these able and honorable gentlemen the destinies of Greece are now intrusted. They have a difficult task before them; they have many and radical reforms to make, and many vices of former administrations to cure. I trust they will have the hearty co-operation of the king. I know they will have the earnest support of Mr. Wyse, the generous and accomplished Minister of her Britannic Majesty; and I heartily wish the United States had a diplomatic representative there who could add the force of his country's in-

fluence in favor of liberal principles and enlightened government; for that influence would be very weighty, both on account of old services still gratefully remembered, and because our country has no interests to subserve by intriguing in Eastern politics, and her Minister would command the unsuspecting confidence of the Greek nation, which no European Minister can. It is of much greater moment that we should be properly represented at Athens than at the court of Constantinople, — at least until the Greek monarchy, as in the course of events it must, shall supplant in Europe the empire of the Moslem, and the cross triumph over the crescent on those fair shores where it was first planted.

The state of Athens and of Greece is now such as I have just sketched. When I arrived there, in October of last year, there was much excitement in the prospect of hostilities opening between the Russians and the Turks. The newspapers were filled with discussions of the question, and the Greeks were talking politics in the coffee-houses with their usual volubility. To me, just arrived from Constantinople, the scene possessed a fresh and living interest, added to the thrilling associations which must cluster around the name of Athens in every mind, however slightly tinctured with letters. As I came up from the promontory of Sunium, along the rocky coast of Attica, I easily recognized the prominent features of the scene. Old Hymettus rises upon my right, where the classic bees still yield their honeyed wealth, as in the days of Plato. Next opens the Plain of Athens, with Pentelicus, Parnes, Cithæron beyond, and Lycabettus towering as a background to the city of Athens. Soon the Acropolis faintly breaks upon the vision; and then, clearer and clearer, the columns of the Parthenon shine, in their unutterable beauty, in the morning sunlight which fills the transparent air of Attica with a serene lustre which I have never seen equalled in Italy or the East. On the left lies the old historic island of Ægina, with the Temple of Panhellenian Zeus overlooking the sparkling seas of Greece. Soon we pass the rocky foreland, where the tomb

of Themistocles is washed by the waters in which the Persian fleet went down on the great day of Salamis. We enter the harbor of Peiræus, surrounded by the crumbling memorials, the massive but ruined walls, the towers overthrown, the solid foundations that line the rocky shore all round the harbors and headlands where the might of Athens was once securely seated. We land on the quay where Miltiades and Themistocles and Pericles had landed a hundred times before.

We drive up to Athens — O unclassical contrast! — in a rickety coach, with a pair of spavined horses; but no matter for that. Here are the ruins of the Long Walls, — yonder the groves of olive, — the sacred tree of Minerva, consecrated to eternal fame by the music of Plato's eloquent philosophy, once heard along the banks of the murmuring Cephissus, which I behold at this moment sparkling beneath the green, fantastic branches of the trees. A turn in the road brings us directly in view of the Bema, the Propylæa, the prison of Socrates, the Hill of Mars, and the still almost perfect Temple of Theseus. With what delight we tread these sacred places, and gaze upon these illustrious memorials, under the glorious illumination of that October sun! We climb the Acropolis and wander among its touching and impressive ruins, — its thousands of fragments of statues, altars, offerings of ancient piety, and works of ancient genius; the Erechtheion; the Parthenon, whose fortunes have been almost as diversified as those of Athens herself, — a temple to the Virgin Goddess of Wisdom, a Christian church of the Panagia, a chapel to the Madonna, a mosque of Islam, and now the most solemnly beautiful monument of antiquity on the face of the earth. We leave the Acropolis, and, passing along its southern slope, arrest our steps on the rock-hewn seats of the Theatre of Bacchus, where the great tragedians spoke to the soul and conscience of ancient Greece the awful sentence of the vengeance of the gods on the doomed households of the great offenders. This was Athens, the ancient. Beyond the Acropolis lies the modern city, with its tumults and humors and gossip. But here, too, is Athens.

These men that crowd the streets, no less than those who once worshipped in the Acropolis, and whose dust has slept two thousand years in yonder Cerameicus, are Greeks, are Athenians. The language they speak falls not unfamiliarly on the ear. I have read these words, here used by living men to express their living thoughts, in Xenophon, in Plato, in Aristophanes, as in what the scholars erroneously call a dead language. No, the language is not dead. As we have the Acropolis with its Parthenon, lovely in its decay; as we have a living Athens by the side of Athens of old; as we have men and women, with forms and figures like those in the time-stained marbles that fill the British Museum and the Vatican, or still linger in the place of their creation, — so we have in the land of Demosthenes, Plato, and Aristophanes the language they once spoke, with changed constructions and shorn of some of the graces it exulted in when Pericles roused all Hellas with the terrible might of his speech. Yet is the Greek language still destined to be the organ of a new civilization throughout the sunny lands where, three thousand years ago, its earliest tones were heard.

LECTURE XII.

LANGUAGE AND PRONUNCIATION. — EDUCATION. — LITERATURE. — POETRY. — ADVENTURES OF TRAVEL.

I HAVE been often asked whether one who had studied the ancient Greek could understand the modern. The answer cannot be given in a single sentence. It is true that the Greek, as spoken at the present day, is substantially the language that was spoken in the time of Demosthenes, and its preservation is one of the most surprising instances of tenacious nationality in the history of our race. But there are important distinctions between the ancient and the modern, which grow out of changes in the structure, no less than modifications of the meaning of words. Nearly all the words now employed by educated Greeks are the same that were used by their ancestors; but the grammar of the language is modern. The ancient Greek had a rich and subtile development of inflections and grammatical constructions, which enabled it to express the nicest shades of meaning, the boldest conceptions of poetry, and the loftiest eloquence, not only with wonderful precision, but also in the most harmonious and beautiful forms. To speak Greek as an educated man of ancient Athens spoke it, as Demosthenes spoke it, as Plato spoke it, was one of the finest of the fine arts; and when we see the effects which this matchless instrument was capable of producing, we can well understand the reason why the great writers and speakers and poets spent so many years in the laborious task of mastering all its compass; and why it is that their orations, philosophical dialogues, tragedies, comedies, lyrics, and epics, like their statues and temples, surpass, as works of art, the best productions

of modern times, and must forever serve, in any enlightened system of liberal education, as the models of taste and the foremost aids in literary culture. The pronunciation was equally elaborate, combining the two elements of accent and quantity, or musical time, with the utmost elegance, and producing a balance between emphasis and rhythm which it required long training and great delicacy of organs to attain in its perfection. Such an instrument could not keep in tune forever: it is strange that it kept in tune so long. From the time of Homer down to six or seven centuries after Christ, though the language underwent many modifications, it retained unchanged these essential characteristics; and for a still longer period, namely, to the middle of the fifteenth century, its grammatical structure, as employed in literature, was still undisturbed, although the combination of rhythm and accent had long ceased to mark the pronunciation. The period for which the Greek tongue continued, without any essential modification of its organism, cannot have been less than twenty-five hundred years.

In the language spoken by the common people, the old system of grammatical forms — perhaps never existing in its completeness among the uneducated — was abandoned somewhere between the sixth and the eleventh century. We cannot trace the change step by step for want of documents; but it is certain that the popular speech of the Byzantine Empire, before the twelfth century, possessed all the grammatical peculiarities which mark the language of Greece as spoken and written at the present day. The first poem published in Modern Greek, as I stated in a former course, was addressed by Theodore Ptochoprodromus, a contemporary of Anna Comnena, to the Emperor Manuel Comnenus; and this has not only the grammatical, but the rhythmical, form of the popular poetry at the present day. What, then, are the changes that came over the spoken language before the twelfth century? 1. The tenses of the verb were formed by auxiliaries, as in the other modern languages, instead of being modified forms of the root

of the verb; e. g. ἔχω γράψει, θέλω γράψει,—*I have written, I shall write*, — instead of γέγραφα, γράψω. 2. The increased use of prepositions to express the relations of cases, instead of expressing them by changes of termination in the words. 3. The disappearance of quantity as the principal rhythmical element in poetical composition, and the substitution of accent, as in the other modern languages; and, still later, the general introduction of rhyme. 4. Various changes and corruptions in the sounds of the vowels and diphthongs, especially the representation of the same sound, *ee*, by ι, η, ει, υ, οι, υι, — six different letters or combinations of letters which originally, without doubt, were distinguished from one another. It is this peculiarity which has given to the modern Greek the characteristic called *etacism*. In the successive periods of the occupation of Greece by Romans, Franks, and Turks, many words from the languages of these races found a temporary lodgement in the Greek; but at the present day they have nearly all disappeared from the language of good society. Among the uneducated people, as in all other countries, numerous corruptions and vulgarisms prevail, but not more than in England, France, and Germany. The general character of the language is the same at Constantinople, Athens, Thebes, and Delphi.

When Greek was first taught in Western Europe, it was taught by Greeks, and of course with the pronunciation of the country, which was the same then as now; but afterwards a fierce controversy arose, in which many bitter words were wasted, on the true pronunciation of the Greek. The result was a kind of armistice, in which each nation quietly began to pronounce the Greek after the analogy of its own language, agreeing in nothing except in applying the accent of the Latin to the Greek, under the delusion that, by accenting the Greek according to the rules of the Latin, they were marking the quantity and observing the rhythm of the Greek. This beautiful language was thus put into as many masquerades as there were nations to study it; but, beyond all question, the most frightful

disguise which the lovely stranger has been compelled to wear is the hideous pronunciation of English and American scholars. In Germany, some approaches to a true pronunciation have been made; and a few individuals in England and Scotland, who have had occasion to use the Greek in living intercourse among men, have adopted, of necessity, the present pronunciation. The American missionaries, who preach in this language, do the same. In truth, no other pronunciation would be recognized in Greece. I had many conversations on this subject with scholars at Athens, among others with the Archbishop of Patras, a venerable and learned man. They all admit that the musical element of quantity has disappeared from their language, but insist, with a good show of reason, that those who have inherited the language from the past, and who have always heard it, by unbroken tradition from the days of the Apostles, in their churches, are more likely to have a pronunciation resembling that of their ancestors, than the nations of Europe, who apply to the Greek the pronunciation of their own languages, and consequently differ from one another.

Whether it is expedient to introduce the modern Greek pronunciation into European and American schools, in teaching the ancient Greek, is a question on which opposite opinions prevail among those best qualified to answer it. But one thing is beyond all controversy, that, by pronouncing the Greek as the Greeks do, we give the language the spirit of a living speech in the place of a dead language; and that, by connecting the study of the modern with the ancient, and pronouncing them both alike, we should immensely facilitate the acquisition of both. I might speak, too, of the importance of acquiring the easy use of a language which holds the same place as a means of communication in the East, which the French occupies in the West of Europe. It does seem a little absurd, that a gentleman from Oxford or Cambridge, who has gained the first class honors for Greek composition, on going to Athens should find himself unable to utter a single word in a way to be understood by the Greeks themselves, unable to understand a word that he hears in

the streets or in society. Such an accomplished scholar, who may have published the Tragedies of Æschylus with commentaries ten times as long as the plays themselves, is presented to a Greek lady, at a party, as the celebrated Professor So-and-so, from England or Germany. The lady — handsome as one of the Caryatides in the Temple of Erechtheus — makes one of those truthful remarks, which are everywhere the prelude to conversation, about the beauty of the weather, and your learned Professor, who has amazed all Europe with the profoundness of his erudition, appears as stupid, I will not say as an owl, for the owl is the bird of wisdom in the city of Athene, but as a donkey carrying a load of roots through the Street of Sophocles. Things of this sort have frequently happened; so that when you ask if a Greek scholar understands and can speak Modern Greek, you may safely answer, "Yes, if he has learned it." But without having learned it, and with the pronunciation of England and America, he may as well attempt to converse with the people in the Potawatamie dialect. Dr. Roëser told me he was once travelling with a German Professor. As they were entering some village, the shepherds' dogs came out, howling and showing their teeth. The Professor, in some alarm, mustered his classical Greek, and said in Xenophontic style, *Ὦ ποιμὴν, ἀποκάλεσον τοὺς σοὺς κύνας,* — "O shepherd, call away thy dogs." The shepherd leaned on his staff, and contemplated the Teutonic Professor with a mixture of fear and wonder, evidently thinking he had come at least from Japan. The Doctor, having been twenty years in the country, called out, laughing, *Τσομπάνε, νὰ σὲ πάρῃ ὁ διάβολος, φώναξε τὰ σκυλιά,* — "Shepherd, — Devil take you, — call your whelps." This the shepherd thought was speaking reasonably, and he at once complied.

To a certain extent I escaped this inconvenience by having previously studied the Modern Greek; but I have often amused myself by reading passages from Homer or Demosthenes to the Professors in the University, with the English and

American pronunciation; and inextinguishable laughter, like that which shook the sides of the Immortals when lame Vulcan took upon himself the office of cup-bearer, received the performance. "Do you call that Greek?" said one, as soon as he could recover his breath sufficiently to speak. "No, I do not, but many learned doctors do." The European or American scholar, before he can be comfortable in Athens, must unlearn his entire system of pronunciation, and he must totally abandon the false notion that his own mode of pronouncing is according to quantity; for he will find that it is simply according to accent, and that, too, according to a false system of accent. He no more marks the quantity than the Greek of to-day marks the quantity; and to this defect, which is common to all the modern modes of pronouncing, he adds the absurdity of an accentual system which belongs to neither ancient nor modern Greek, but only to the Latin language. So clearly is this the case, that I do not know an instance of a European scholar having passed a few months in Greece, who has not wholly abandoned his previous practice, and adopted that of the Greeks. Professor Bowen, for several years connected with the University of Corfou, is now, at Oxford, teaching the Greek with the Greek pronunciation. Professor Blackie, the admirable translator of Æschylus, is making the Edinburgh students read like the Athenians. Professor Masson, formerly Attorney-General in the Athenian courts, is doing the same in Ireland. Mr. Arnold, the accomplished missionary of the Baptists, whose Greek style in his sermons is admired by fastidious native critics for its purity and elegance, is likely, I am glad to learn, to be made Professor of Greek at Brown University, and when that takes place we shall hear the Rhode Island boys pronouncing Greek like so many young Athenians. It seems to me clear, that, if the Greeks advance in literary culture as they have advanced for the last twenty years, they must be allowed to teach other nations how to pronounce the language of their ancestors.

There is no subject to which more attention is given in their

schools than language. They are like the Greeks of old in this respect; no small part of the business of education being devoted to the mother tongue. It will be readily perceived, that the language of the great body of the people is a popular language, and, as such, differs much from that spoken in cultivated society. This is no peculiarity of Greece, but such is the characteristic difference between the educated and the uneducated everywhere.

It will be easily understood that the state of things under the Turks was not favorable to the cultivation and maintenance of purity of speech, among either the learned or the unlearned classes; and one of the first cares of the scholars who inspired the country with the hope of regeneration was to settle the principles of the language, which was not only corrupted by the admixture of foreign words, but exceedingly irregular in its forms and chaotic in its constructions. Coraës was the earliest and the ablest of these reformers; and his system has been substantially followed, I think, by the majority of his educated countrymen. It recognizes the forms and principles of the Greek as a modern language, but proposes to settle the usage, to purify the language from Turkish, Italian, and other foreign admixtures, and to substitute pure Greek words for these intrusive elements. There never was a time when even the popular speech was not, in by far the greater part of its words and phrases, genuine Greek. Some of the more enthusiastic, in their classical zeal, have hoped to restore the language absolutely, as it was spoken by Demosthenes. Mr. Buchon, with pleasant exaggeration, says: "Philology is the passion of all the Greek students in whatever department. A physician, an advocate, a professor, has often become a minister of state, because he had a good mastery of his language. . . . . Greek grammar is at the basis and summit of all instruction. . . . Not content with having eliminated all foreign words, the Athenians endeavor to approach the ancient language as nearly as possible, in words, in forms, in the turn of phrases, and in inversions. . . . . The paladins of Greek philology march to the conquest

of a grammatical form as to a rich province. The dative had disappeared; they have raised it from the tomb: the aorist had been nearly extinguished; all are seeking to breathe into it a new life: at present they flatter themselves with the ardent hope of reconquering the infinitive, which had emigrated so long ago."

This was written ten years ago. The process of purification and reformation has gone steadily on; and, though the infinitive has not yet returned from its emigration, the aorist is restored to perfect health. In short, the usage of the language may now be considered as established. Several of the recent grammars, those now of the highest authority in Athens, are admirable specimens of philological skill. The course of nature has not been violated by forcing upon it the ancient constructions; while Turkish words, like the Turks themselves, have been unceremoniously turned out of doors. In the mean time, the natural growth of the language, and its application to the larger range of thought required by the superior civilization of the age, have made it necessary to enlarge its vocabulary by copious drafts from other sources. Whence should these drafts be made? Obviously not from English, French, or Italian; but naturally, as the Greek scholars have instinctively decided, from the abundant wealth of the ancient Greek. Thus the word for steamboat was made of the two ancient words which signify *steam* and *boat*, — *ἀτμόπλοιον*, instead of *vapore*, — as the people at first called it. The post is called *ταχυδρομεῖον*, instead of *posta*. A cigar-shop is appropriately called *καπνοπωλεῖον*, — *a place for selling smoke*. A barber's shop, as in ancient Athens, is called a *κουρεῖον*. A merchant tailor figures on his sign as an *ἔμπορος ῥάπτης*. A hotel is a *ξενοδοχεῖον*. Pantaloons, formerly known as *τὸ πανταλόνι*, are now *περισκελίδες*; and so on through all the articles and establishments relating to daily life.

To illustrate the progress of the language, one of the missionaries told me that they had been obliged to make four translations of the Bible in twenty years; and on examination the

differences were very curious. I found, too, that several books which I had been in the habit of studying at home, and others that I had bought in Europe, were pronounced by the Athenians decidedly vulgar; and more than once I came near being guilty of the grossest solecisms, by relying on the authority of books a dozen years old.

This state of things, natural as it is, presents some whimsical aspects, and leads to amusing misunderstandings. A Scotch friend of mine, who had long been in Athens, studying Greek, went into a shop one day to buy an umbrella, seeing some in the window. He naturally inquired for the article under the name known among scholars as *ἀλεξιβροχεῖον*. The shopkeeper looked aghast, and not only protested that he had no such article in the shop, but that nothing of the kind was to be found in all Athens. My friend pointed to it in the window. "Oh!" exclaimed the shopman, in a tone of immense relief, "*ὀμβρέλλα, ὀμβρέλλα.*" I had a similar difficulty in coming to an understanding with my washerwoman on the delicate subject of under-waistcoats. I had made out the list of articles with the most brilliant success, except in this particular case. The word I employed was a very superior word, as old as Plato, and I called in the waiter to see if all was right; but my excellent friend, not being a Platonist, had not the slightest conception of the thing in question; but when I pointed to it in the bundle, "O, flanella, flanella!" was his instant reply. There is an Irishwoman living in Athens married to a bath-house keeper. She has been there many years, and speaks a kind of Hibernian Greek. Her son, a bright, intelligent lad, goes to one of the public schools; but she complains, with a good deal of humor, that the boy came home, the first day, and asked for *ὕδωρ*, instead of *νερόν*,—*water*. She thought it was some intoxicating liquor he had just heard of. The shopmen are not always the best spellers. One day, as I was going to a dinner party, I noticed a sign over a wine-shop, with the words, *Σαμπανιὰ τῆς πρώτης πιότητος* (*ποιότητος*), intended to mean *Champagne of the first quality*, but, one letter being omitted

in the last word, really meaning, *of the first drinkability;* which was not so bad.

In general, one gets on very well with good Greek words, provided he pronounces them intelligibly. One evening I had some experience of the difference between ancient and modern usage. As I was returning to my lodgings rather late, soon after my arrival in Athens, I came near getting drawn into a scrape with a watchman. The night patrols are armed with loaded muskets, and they always hail the passer-by with the question, *Τίς εἰ;* the same question, by the by, that Anacreon puts to the dove, *Who art thou?* I had been told by my friends the proper answer, *Καλός.* Now *καλός*, in ancient Greek, means *a handsome fellow.* Well, I met one of the watchmen, and, sure enough, the question was roared out. I hesitated, having some scruples of conscience; but when I saw a certain dangerous movement of the gun, I hastily reviewed the arguments of Paley in justification of lying under the pressure of circumstances, — as, for instance, when you are required to subscribe a creed that you do not more than half believe, or when attacked by robbers, and the like. Considering, too, that it was midnight and no moon was shining, that nobody would be the wiser, and that perhaps life itself was at stake, I said, *Καλός.* Like Mrs. Malaprop, "I did confess the soft impeachment," and was allowed to pass on. Some time afterward, I was returning from a party, in company with Lord John Hay, the commander of a British man-of-war then lying at the Peiræus. We were hailed in the usual way, and I answered, *Καλοί.* "What does that mean?" said my companion. "It means," said I, "that you and I are a couple of handsome fellows; and as I have already gone through with all the wear and tear of conscience, I thought it would be an economy of fibbing if I answered for both."

Athenian society, as a stranger sees it, consists of very various elements. There are two or three American families belonging to the missions; a few English families, including the most excellent and interesting ladies at the British Legation;

some French, German, and Swiss residents, or visitors; and some of the principal families of the Greeks. Generally speaking, the Greeks are not accustomed to the European forms. They expect to entertain their friends on festivals, when they dress in holiday attire, and receive and make numerous calls. But evening parties and dinner parties are not customary, except among the class I have just specified. Nevertheless, they are very kind and social in other ways. I had the good fortune to carry letters, voluntarily offered me, in London, Paris, and Munich, by Mr. Tricoupi, Mr. Mavrocordatos, and Mr. Schinas, the Greek Ministers in those cities, to the principal persons connected with the government, the University, and in other walks of life; so that I had every opportunity to see men and things that I could desire, and more than I was able to make use of during my limited stay in the country. I deem it only justice to say, that in no other city I ever visited have I found more agreeable and accomplished society than the society, both native and foreign, which I had the happiness of meeting in Athens; nowhere have I received so many kindnesses, or so much assistance and co-operation in the execution of my plans of study and travel; and this, too, from all classes of people. I should naturally have expected it from the Professors in the University; though, from my experience in some countries claiming to rank much higher than Greece, I might have been justified in anticipating quite a different course. But from other classes of people, to whom I was a stranger, without the slightest claim upon their thoughts for a single moment, I received more disinterested kindness certainly than I shall ever be likely to repay.

In speaking on this subject, I may be allowed to mention that King Otho and Queen Amelia manifested great interest in our country. When I had the honor of being presented to their Majesties, but not on any suggestion of my own, their questions all related to the state of literature, science, and education in the United States, and especially to the studies and students in Harvard University, which I was enabled to

inform them is about as large as the University of Athens. Afterwards the king placed his yacht at my disposal for a voyage among the Greek islands; and the excursion I made to Sunium, Ægina, and Salamis, with two English gentlemen whom I received permission to invite, is among the most agreeable reminiscences I brought with me from Greece. It was amusing, too; for at Athens everything is attributed by the quidnuncs to a political motive. My two friends and I said nothing to the other guests who were living at the hotel; but it was soon noised abroad that the American had gone off, and not only so, but had taken two Englishmen with him, in the royal yacht. "What can this extraordinary transaction mean? Ah! we have it. There is an American influence forming here. We have already a French party, a Russian party, an English party, and now we are going to have an American party, got up by this man, who pretends to be a professor, but is undoubtedly a secret political agent. This matter must be looked after." When we returned, I was closely and very ably cross-questioned by a Russian general, who sat next to me at table. I told him the simple truth, and it deceived him more utterly than the most ingenious lie. "That is all very well," said he, with a shrug and a knowing look; "but such things do not fall from the sky." And I have no doubt that this little voyage was the subject of the next secret despatch to the Czar.

Next to the palace, the residences of the foreign ministers are the centres of social attraction. I ought to specify particularly the hotel of Mr. Wyse, the honorable and distinguished Minister of Great Britain. This gentleman, belonging to a conspicuous family in Ireland, is connected by marriage with the Emperor of the French. He is one of the ablest and most accomplished persons I have ever had the happiness of meeting. His knowledge of ancient letters and art is as extensive and accurate as that of a German professor, while with the literature of modern Europe he has a most familiar acquaintance, speaking most of the languages with extraordinary grace and

fluency. His conversation is enriched with the spoils of learning gathered from all time. A Greek lady, speaking to me of the universality of his acquirements, described it by a proverb of Crete, her native country, "Whatever stone you turn over, you find him under it." He is a philanthropist, and an enlightened one; a lover of his country, but a generous sympathizer with American principles of liberty, and a hopeful prophet of the future triumphs of America in arts and letters, — looking, as so many noble spirits in Europe do, from the darkness that seems to be descending over the Old World to the culminating light of the New. He was long in the House of Commons, and a member of her Majesty's government. When Mr. Webster visited England, Mr. Wyse, out of his enthusiastic admiration for our illustrious statesman, and his desire to show his friendship towards our country through him, was among the foremost Englishmen to do him honor. With all his exquisite culture, he has always been, what so many scholars have failed to be, an earnest friend of popular education. No man in England has looked more deeply into that all-important interest. The best book ever written on the subject in the English language has been written by Mr. Wyse. The best college of an unsectarian character in the British dominions — with the most comprehensive and most liberal system of scientific and literary training — is the college founded by him in Ireland, and of which he is still a Visitor. If Great Britain is ever to enjoy the inestimable blessing of a national system of unsectarian instruction, she will owe it to the noble labors and generous devotion of Thomas Wyse, — and Thomas Wyse is a Catholic. It is well to remember such facts as these when we seem to be forgetting that our country achieved her independence by the powerful aid of a Catholic alliance; that among the signers of the Declaration of Independence one of the foremost was a Catholic gentleman, who imperilled his life and the largest fortune in America for the cause; and that the name most entitled to our gratitude, next to Washington, for services too great to be repaid, is that of a foreign Catholic nobleman.

My sense of obligation to Mr. Wyse, for the genial hospitalities to which I was welcomed at his house, and for the delight and instruction I drew from his conversation, in which I had the privilege of sharing largely during my whole stay at Athens, has led me a little aside from the topic I was discussing. At his house the best people of Athens — I mean, the most cultivated and liberal-minded of the Athenian gentlemen, and the most amiable of the Athenian ladies — were often assembled; and I look back to those reunions, presided over with noble dignity by the high-bred and most accomplished niece of the Minister, who spoke French with Frenchmen, Italian with Italians, German with Germans, Greek with Greeks, and manifested a refined, sincere, and generous nature in her intercourse with all alike, — I look back upon the evenings so passed, under the auspices of Miss Wyse and the goddess of Wisdom, almost in the shadow of the Parthenon, as *Attic Nights* in every sense of the phrase, too charming to be forgotten, and too rare in enjoyment to hope for their repetition.

To return to King Otho: perhaps, after mentioning my obligations to him, I shall be thought to have been bribed by unusual acts of courtesy to a stranger; but as I have already spoken with strong disapprobation of the course of his government, I will venture to say, in the face of the European press, that great injustice has been done him as a man, if not as a king. In the first place, his private life is without a stain. He has a strong sense of religious obligation. No vice, no dissipation, no profligacy, has ever dishonored his youth, or been allowed to enter his court. In this respect, he sets an example to his subjects which could not be improved. In the next place, he is an intelligent and accomplished prince. I do not mean that he is a man of brilliant talents, or of great sagacity. I do not think he is; but he is a man of considerable knowledge, speaking four languages fluently, of great industry, and attentive personally, in no common degree, to the public business. I will add to this, that I believe him to be a conscientious man, and devoted heart and soul to the country over

which he is called to rule. He is charitable to the poor, who are never turned from the palace-doors by the sentinels stationed there. I never entered the palace without seeing twenty or thirty poor women, or disabled men, waiting in the great corridor until the king could attend to their petitions or the king's physician could prescribe for their complaints; and I was told by one in the confidence of his Majesty, that these poor people are never allowed to go away without words of kindness, and that no small part of the king's revenue is expended for their relief. He was not, indeed, well fitted for his place. He did not comprehend the peculiar political character of the Greeks, nor the unsuitableness of the Bavarian system to their history, genius, expectations, and hopes. But he has had bitter experience of the fruits, not only of his own errors, but of the evil counsels by which he has been misled. Affairs have now come to a crisis which has forced him to place in power the best and most honest men among his subjects. He is not yet forty years old, and may still have a long and prosperous reign. But whatever be his fate, Greece herself must certainly advance, and at no distant time become a considerable power among the nations of Europe.

In speaking of Athens, perhaps I ought not to omit the *Maid of Athens*, immortalized by Byron, — now Mrs. Black, of the Peiræus. The maiden name of this lady was Theresa Maria. She was one of three sisters, all of whom were famous beauties in their day. One of them is the wife of Mr. Pittakys, the well-known Superintendent of Antiquities at Athens. The third, I believe, is not living. Lord Byron's lines were written in 1810, — forty-four years ago; and forty-four years make a considerable difference in the appearance both of man and woman; so that the language of the noble poet cannot be expected to apply, in all respects, at the present day. It is a common thing for travellers in Greece to call on Mrs. Black, with no other introduction than *Ζωὴ μοῦ, σὰς ἀγαπῶ*. Not thinking this accidental celebrity any ground for so impertinent a proceeding, it was a long time before I had the pleasure of meet-

ing this lady, as she lives in the Peiræus, and now seldom makes her appearance in Athens. But I was invited one evening to take tea and pass the night at the house of a friend in Peiræus. I found, on arriving there, that the family of Mr. Black were expected, and no other guests. They soon came in, — Mr. and Mrs. Black and their daughter, a young lady of eighteen or twenty; and I had the felicity of sitting the whole evening on a sofa between the old Maid of Athens and the young Maid of Athens, — a highly poetical situation, as it seemed to me, with the beauty of the past on one hand, and the beauty of the present on the other. Certainly Mrs. Black shows traces of the loveliness which inspired the Muse of Byron; and if she did not, the magnificent beauty of the daughter is a sufficient and most satisfactory demonstration that it once existed in the mother. Let me add, that Mrs. Black is an excellent housekeeper, her house being one of the best ordered in all Greece. But if there is one thing in which she surpasses the rest of her sex, it is the art of pickling olives. The first time I tasted one of her olives at the house of a friend, I could not restrain an exclamation of surprise at their delicious flavor. "Those olives," responded my entertainer, "were pickled by the fair hands of the Maid of Athens." A day or two afterward I received a jar of the fruit from the Maid of Athens, which I keep as a precious memorial, with a fragment of the Parthenon, and a cane cut from the olive-grove of Plato.

Perhaps, after all, the most striking feature of Hellenic society is the inextinguishable zeal for education which has always characterized the people, and now is more ardent than ever. We have seen that one of the preparations for the Revolution was a rapid improvement in the schools, and a large increase of their number. During the war, the provisional governments never lost sight of this subject; and Count Capo d'Istria gave to it much of his attention. The regency of Otho organized the system of public education more thoroughly than had previously been done. The Greeks also raised

large sums by private subscriptions and by local taxes. Prince Demetrius Ypselanti left his whole fortune to found a school in Nauplia, which, when I visited it last year, contained three or four hundred scholars. Several schools for girls have been established in different parts of Greece. There are two or three in Athens, — one under the charge of a sister of Mavrocordatos; another, the justly famous missionary school of our countryman Dr. Hill, which during the last twenty-five years has been of incalculable service to the women of Greece. There are many other private schools all over Greece. But doubtless the most characteristic feature in the scheme of public education as it now exists is the system of public schools. The schools under this system are: — 1. Those of mutual instruction, in which are taught reading, writing, and arithmetic, with the elements of history, geography, and natural philosophy, to both boys and girls; 2. The Hellenic schools, in which are taught, in addition to the further study of the above enumerated branches, the elements of the ancient Greek grammar, translation from ancient into modern Greek, and the Latin and French languages; 3. The Gymnasia, in which the Latin and Greek are continued, with philosophy, logic, ethics, physics, general history, mathematical geography, and the French, German, and English languages; 4. The University of Otho, which is organized with four departments or faculties, — philosophy, theology, medicine, and law. In the schools of mutual instruction, more than forty thousand children and youth were taught last year; in the Hellenic schools, more than five thousand; in the Gymnasia, two thousand; in the University, above six hundred: in all amounting to about fifty thousand. If we add the pupils of the numerous private schools, this number will be greatly increased. There were, last year, three hundred and ten schools of mutual instruction, eighty-five Hellenic schools, and seven Gymnasia. Besides these, there are a Teachers' School, a Naval School, an Agricultural School, and a Polytechnic School. The University has a corps of nearly forty professors, and an excellent library

of eighty thousand volumes. For a country small and poor as Greece, I think, this state of things shows that not a little of the old intellectual spirit still survives. Among the professors are men who would do honor to any European university. The venerable Asopios expounds Homer with the vivacity of a Nestor. The lectures of Philippos Johannis on Moral Philosophy are admirable for purity of style and clearness of method. Rangabes expounds the Fine Arts with learning and taste. Manouses lectures eloquently on History. Pericles Argyropoulos, now the Minister of Foreign Affairs, is a most able Professor of Law. Professor Kontogones is profoundly versed in Biblical literature, and expounds the Hebrew Scriptures to numerous and attentive classes. Many others might be mentioned in terms of just commendation.

While in Athens I was in the habit of frequently visiting the schools, and remaining through the exercises. I have heard Demosthenes on the Crown explained to eager classes of coarsely dressed but bright-eyed youths, within a stone's throw of the spot where, two-and-twenty centuries ago, that marvellous oration was delivered; and not only this, but the aisles were crowded with young men, and sometimes old men, who, having an hour to spare from their daily labors, would come in to pick up the crumbs of instruction that were falling from the tables of their more favored juniors. Not once did I enter a school-house, during a three months' residence in Athens, without witnessing this extraordinary spectacle. In the University, where I constantly attended three or four courses of lectures, I saw the same spirit manifesting itself. The venerable Professor Asopios, now over seventy, was expounding the Iliad to a numerous class, all of whom, including many theological students, were busily engaged in taking notes. Professor Philippos Johannis, one of the most admirable of men, gave a course on Moral Philosophy, and his lecture-room was always crowded; and I will say, that I never listened to a more excellent and high-toned course in that branch of science, and that I never knew a man who better illustrated the purity of his

doctrines by the purity of his life. I might go on with other proofs of the intellectual receptivity of the people and the rapid progress they are making; but I will merely add, on this head, that the Church already feels the benefit of this increasing culture quite as much as the laity. Professor Kontogones and Professor Pharmakides are inspiring the younger clergy with a liberal and scholarly spirit, which will speedily disarm of all its force the already waning fanaticism of the old school.

It is strangely asserted by an English writer, who has recently visited Greece, that preaching forms no part of the religious services of the Greek Church, and that in a visit of two months at Athens, so far from hearing a sermon, he never could hear of such a thing as a sermon. I cannot explain so monstrous a blunder, except by supposing that the writer carried with him the English habit of lying in bed till nine or ten o'clock in the morning. The Greeks, like their ancestors, are early risers. As the old Athenians went to the theatre by the dawn of day, so the moderns go to church by sunrise. Before an Englishman gets his breakfast, the longest service, including an excellent sermon, is over in Athens. I can only say, that, so far from the sermon's forming no portion of the Greek services, the Holy Synod set apart a certain number of the priests — those who show a special gift for sacred eloquence, called *Ιεροκήρυκες* — for the express work of preaching; but they allow no others to preach; and this limitation, I think, is not unworthy the attention of some other ecclesiastical bodies. I have myself risen very early to hear a sermon from Mr. Metrophanes, the most eloquent preacher in Athens, and, I will add, one of the most agreeable, liberal, and scholarly men in that profession anywhere. On one occasion I went to hear him on the day of St. Demetrius. The church was crowded to overflowing when the sun was scarcely peering above Hymettus; but seeing a stranger, and hearing from one who knew me that I was an *Ἀμερικανός*, they made way for me to enter, and, with that courtesy which I always and everywhere experienced, placed me in a very convenient proximity to the pulpit, that I might

hear to the best advantage. The clearness of the style and the distinctness of the enunciation enabled me to follow the discourse without the slightest difficulty; and I have seldom listened to a better sermon, or one more practically applicable to the condition of the hearers. So much for the assertion that the Greeks have no preaching.

I have said a few words upon the present condition of the language. I must barely touch upon the current literature. There are published in Athens about thirty newspapers, two or three literary journals, and a Journal of Antiquities, — most of them written with talent, and some, as the "Panhellenian," which was commenced while I was there, quite equal in elegance of style and power of argument to the best journals of Paris and London. Professor Paparregopoulos has written an excellent summary of the history of Greece; and Spiridon Tricoupi is now publishing a history of the Revolution, which will take its place among the classics of his country. Parliamentary eloquence is at least respectable. I have listened to debates in the legislature which would have done no discredit to much older senates.

With regard to the poetical development of the nation, there is a distinction to be made between the cultivated poetry and the popular poetry. The latter has not yet attained its completed growth. Yet the works of Rangabes; the Tragedies, on the death of Karaiskakes and other national subjects, by Zampelios; the poetical works of Soutsos; two or three pieces by a young poet named Zalocostas, especially one on Mesolongi, which was crowned in 1851 with the prize offered for annual competition by Mr. Ralles, a distinguished Greek merchant in Trieste; and the poems of others still, of rising talent, — give rich promise for the future.

At present, the most characteristic feature in the poetical literature of the Greeks is the popular poetry, including, in this designation, the works of Christopoulos, who, though a man of education, has written in the popular dialect the most naïve and charming songs, depicting the festive side of Hellenic pop-

ular life with infinite grace and picturesque effect. I now refer, however, more especially to the poetry of the people themselves. Like the ancients, the present Hellenic race have a vein of natural poetry, which crops out on all the occurrences of life, — birth, death, separation, departure for a foreign country, — in the most simple and unpremeditated style. A large proportion of this poetry exists only on the lips of the people, most of it having never been reduced to writing at all. The first collection ever made was by Fauriel, published in 1824 and 1825. It excited great attention in Europe. Goethe, then the undisputed monarch of Continental literature, pronounced it the most natural and genuine poetry of artless feeling and unsophisticated nature which had been given to the world in our times. Much has since been added commemorative of the events of the war, and several collections have been made. Other collections are now making. I have in my possession a few pieces that have never been published. Mr. Wyse, to whom no subject of letters or art is indifferent, employs some of his leisure, it is understood, in gathering up these scattered leaves. It will not be long, however, before this period of popular poetry will have passed, and the dialects in which they are composed will have become, through the general diffusion of education, obsolete curiosities for the researches of the mousing antiquarian. They ought, therefore, to be at once placed beyond the search of casualty. The old women in the mountain villages, whose memories are the exhaustless treasuries of this rythmical lore, will not live forever, though some of them look as though they might.

The popular life, to which I have alluded, includes that of the Klephts and Armatoles; life on the islands, as well as on the mainland; life in the valleys, as well as on the mountains; and these poems, which depict it, run back indefinitely into the Turkish times. Love and marriage, funerals, feasts, the death-scene, the sorrows of absent love, the joys of victory and revenge, the fortitude which bears torture without a groan, and the courage which defies and dauntlessly encoun-

ters an overwhelming array of foemen, — these and every feature in every scene of popular Hellenic life, and every feeling of the simple, fresh Hellenic heart, are rhythmically embodied in the poetical literature of the nation. In these songs we sometimes find strange echoes of old Greek poetry, still reverberating among the mountains. Charon, the ferryman of the Styx among the ancients, has become a mysterious minister of death, hanging invisibly over the doomed, or sweeping like a storm over the mountains, on horseback, with the ghosts of the dead at his saddle-bow. The birds, whose voices and flight were full of omens to the ancients, and of whom Aristophanes quotes the proverb, "No one knows except the birds," in modern poetry are endowed with speech, and with supernatural powers of vision, and often appear as collocutors in the abruptly changing dialogue. The measure in which most of these poems are composed is the accented iambic of fifteen syllables; every second syllable being accented, and the final one unaccented.

I close this sketch with a few short specimens on different subjects. I have carefully abstained from adding ornaments, and have translated them line for line, with the same rhythm as the original. The brevity and abruptness of the style, the rapidity of the narrative, and the racy simplicity of the dialectic peculiarities, can scarcely be reproduced in another language; and the charm they possess, when read or heard in the open air, on the mountains of Greece, with the life they embody all around, and the scenery that suggested their coloring meeting the eye at every turn, can scarcely be imagined where these accessories — the background of the picture — are wanting.

The first I shall give is called

"LOVE DETECTED.

"Maiden, we kissed, but 't was at night; and who, think'st thou, beheld us?
The night beheld, the morn beheld, the moon and star of evening;
The star dropped earthward from the sky, and told the sea the story;
The sea at once the rudder told, the rudder told the sailor;
The sailor sang it at the door, where sat his sweetheart listening."

My second specimen describes the death-scene of a Klepht, who, for a wonder, lived to old age, and died without a bullet. It combines, in a curious way, the strong contrasts and opposite feelings of the Klephtic character. It is a strange compound of piety, gunpowder, and the simple love of nature. Its hero is resolved, after death, to have a shot now and then at the Turks. To understand its simple allusions, we must remember that such a family, living for the most part in the open air, would always select the bank of a moving stream for their supper-table, and would drink water — when they had no wine. It is called

"THE DYING CHIEF.

"The sun was setting in the west when Demos gave his orders:
'Hasten, my children, to the brook, to eat your bread at evening;
And then, Lampsakis, nephew mine, come, take thy seat before me.
Here! wear the arms that now I wear, and be a valiant captain.
And ye, my children, take my sword, deserted by its master,
And cut green branches from the trees, and spread a couch to rest me;
And hither bring the holy man, that he may haste to shrive me,
That I may tell him all the sins I ever have committed
While thirty years an Armatole, and twenty-five a robber.
But now the conqueror Death has come, and I for death am ready.
Build me a broad and spacious tomb, and let the mound be lofty,
That I may stand erect and fire, then stoop and load the musket;
And on the right hand of the tomb a window leave wide open,
That swallows in their flight may come, the early spring announcing,
And nightingales of lovely May in morning song may tell me."

To these sketches I will add one or two illustrations of Grecian life, from my own experiences, in the ups and downs of a horseback journey of twenty-one days through the most historical and poetical parts of Greece. I did not set out until about the middle of November, being desirous of studying Athens, and accustoming my ear as much as possible to the language before visiting the interior. An English gentleman arriving from Constantinople at that time, we joined company. We took a guide, Strattis the Lesbian, a good-natured, honest fellow, very familiar with the country; a cook, named Yanni Bulgari; three donkeys to carry the provisions and luggage;

Panaghiotti, in charge of the horses; another Yanni, to take care of the donkeys; a boy, with no name in particular, to help him; and a little dog named Walnut, who picks up an honest living by going with parties of travellers, and whose name — he having made the tour of Greece several times — we changed from Walnut to Pausanias. The plan of our journey was laid out beforehand. The day before we started, I dined at the British Minister's, in company with General Church. He inquired the route by which we intended to go to Thebes; and when I told him, by the Pass of Phyle, he advised me to take another route, as not only was the Pass of Phyle very rough, but within a few days reports had been circulated of depredations committed by robbers. This was not altogether pleasant; but after due consideration, we made up our minds that, robbers or no robbers, we must see the fortress where Thrasybulus gathered the exiles who overthrew the government of the Thirty Tyrants. We started, with all our train, on the 15th of November. Just as we had crossed the Plain of Athens, and were entering the rugged mountain path, we met four robbers, who were marching down to Athens, under the guard of a strong body of police, with their hands tied behind them. We were led by this spectacle to moralize on the importance of selecting the fitting moment for the execution of any human project, since it was quite obvious that the difference was very great between meeting these hang-dog looking villains the day after and meeting them the day before their arrest.

The view from the fortress of Phyle was considered by Byron the most beautiful in Greece. It is difficult to say which is the most beautiful; so many of them seem, as you come in sight of them, to surpass all you have seen before. The ascent was wild and rugged; but from the old Hellenic walls you look back through the wooded gorge, over the plain and city of Athens, and take into the range of vision a variety of objects whose natural beauty and associated interest almost make the senses ache with beholding them. The pine grove on

the mountain heights responded to the freshly blowing breezes in melancholy music, and the swift clouds, sweeping over the distant cliffs, well explained the imagery of Charon and the ghosts. The next day we descended, by a rough and rocky path, into the rich plains of Bœotia, with Mounts Cithæron, Helicon, and Parnassus all in sight, and the citadel of Thebes rising gradually on the view. As we approached the city, it was impossible not to recall the old mythical renown of Laius and Œdipus, their doomed house, and all the tragic woes of which yonder Cadmeia was the scene; the historical greatness of Epaminondas and Pelopidas; the poetic glories of Pindar; and, finally, the alphabetic immortality of Cadmus, who here first introduced the knowledge of letters to the European world.

Busy with these thronging memories, I approached the bank of the consecrated Ismenus, a beautiful stream flowing east of the city. I let my horse follow his own way, and his own way led him into the middle of the current. I noticed the course he was taking; but supposing he wanted merely to drink of the sacred river, and, approving his taste, I did not interfere. But while I was thinking of Sophocles and Antigone, my horse was thinking of a cold bath, and, suddenly rolling over, rolled me over with him into the water. As I emerged dripping from the involuntary plunge, my ears were saluted by the most unearthly roars, which I took at first to be from the chorus of maidens in the "Seven against Thebes." It proved, however, to be a troop of a dozen or twenty Theban washerwomen, who paused in their labors, a few feet off, at the Dircean fountain, and made the air vocal with peal upon peal of inextinguishable laughter. I was obliged to ride several hours in the condition described by Mr. Mantalini, — "a damp, disagreeable body"; but consoled myself with the reflection, that, if I had incurred a ducking, it was a highly classic one.

In Greece the winter is called χειμών, — the *pouring* season. This commences generally in November; and here "it never rains but it pours." It is not the time usually selected by travellers for an inland tour; but it has its advantages.

There is no land in the world so smiling in sunshine or so frowning in storm. The traveller who has seen Hellas only in fair weather, has seen but one aspect of the country, — most beautiful, indeed, but not more characteristic, and not so grand and imposing, as when Zeus the Showery rules the hour, especially among the mountains. The wild appearance of the clouds, the roar of the wind, the sudden leaping forth of the torrents, which seem in a moment to spring from their mountain-beds and dash down the channelled slopes, sweeping all before them precisely as Homer describes them, the crashing thunder and the curled lightning, present a picture of elemental warfare such as I had nowhere else seen. This was the weather we encountered, with intervals of the loveliest sunshine, the lovelier by the contrast. After crossing the Bœotian plains and the field of Leuctra, visiting Thebes, and galloping over Platæa, we reached and ascended one of the acclivities of Helicon on the third day. Here we were delighted with a succession of scenes of the rarest beauty, and could well understand why the Muses found these lovely heights so attractive a resort. The sides of the ridges were covered with myrtles, oaks, and plane-trees, splendidly colored with the hues of autumn; and the fountain of Aganippe sent forth its sweet waters to refresh the thirsty traveller, and to fill his mind with the most delightful associations of other days.

We were on the slope of Helicon, with Parnassus full in sight. Gray says,

> "From Helicon's harmonious springs
> A thousand streams their mazy courses take."

One of these streams had worn a deep gully directly across our path. My Thessalian charger was generally sure-footed; but in attempting to leap across, down he went, and pitched me head foremost upon the opposite bank. I was a good deal bruised; and my hat, which had long ceased to be the λαμπρὸν πρᾶγμα it was described by the shopman when I bought it in Athens, came out of this adventure a good deal the worse for wear. But the most irreparable damage was done by making a terri-

ble rent in the elbow of my coat. A bruise, a scratch, a torn skin, Nature repairs; but who can mend a garment in those tailorless solitudes? And think of being out at the elbows on the side of Helicon and in sight of Parnassus! But as I remembered that those unfortunate gentlemen who spend their lives in dancing attendance upon the Muses, and in attempting to climb the Heliconian and Parnassian heights, are out at the elbows in their normal condition, I consoled myself with the thought that there was a dash of the poetical in the situation, and that perhaps I was destined to write an epic. With various aches and contusions, I climbed again into the saddle. We journeyed on through scenes of incomparable beauty. The many-colored trees shone as brilliantly as an American forest in autumn; the marble summits of the mountains, rising on either side above the zone of cedars that encircled their waists with a belt of green, closed in the picture as with a sculptured frame. But in a short time the picture changed. The clouds, which had been hanging at a distance all day, now thickened, and Showery Zeus became more ominous and threatening. The thunder rolled and the lightning played along the summits of Helicon and Parnassus. We had just time to reach a hamlet of a few huts, called Cotumala, and take shelter from the deluge that suddenly descended.

One more passage of travel will finish all I propose to say upon this head. Two or three days after the Heliconian storm, we reached the Pass of Thermopylæ, so magnificent in its surrounding scenery, so interesting in its historical associations. Descending from the precipitous mountains which shut it in by the path which the immortal Leonidas followed with his three hundred Spartans, we visited the mound where their bodies were buried, and galloped over the ground of the battle, admiring the wild, varied, and most appropriate sublimity of the scene. What sound strikes on the ear? What sight meets the eye? The hot springs, from which the pass takes its name, now turn a mill, grinding night and day corn for the five-and-twenty villages. I thought Leonidas and his

three hundred would have broken loose from yonder mound, and razed such a desecration of the place to the earth. We found there Demakedes, the owner, the eldest of the four unmarried brothers of whom I spoke in the last Lecture. He received us with great hospitality, and baked a huge loaf of wheaten bread; and when I saw it taken smoking from the embers, I was glad Leonidas and his three hundred slept quietly where they were. The building was of composite order, made up of a grist-mill and a castle of the Middle Ages; the lower part being the mill, and the upper room, to which we ascended by a ladder, being furnished with pistols, guns, and yataghans, and pierced with portholes commanding every approach. I almost hoped there would be a descent of robbers from the neighboring mountains, the means of defence seemed so ample, and the mill, below, furnished such an indefinite supply of provisions. I think we might have stood a siege of many months. We were at least as strong as Sebastopol.

Our host invited us to stay over the following day and partake of a Klephtic feast. The invitation was too tempting to be resisted. Now a Klephtic feast is the most classical and Homeric thing that has come down from past ages, and is to be had nowhere except in the wilder and more primitive regions of Greece. One of the men went up into the mountains, and procured a kid. The kid was spitted on a long pole — with extemporaneous sausages made out of himself, and filled with his own liver and lights, twisted round his body — and then roasted by an enormous wood-fire, two men holding the ends of the pole. Other men brought in huge armfuls of myrtle-branches freshly gathered, which, being spread out, formed the table. The sausages — σπλάγχνα, as Homer calls them — were first served up, about three inches being distributed to each guest. Next came the kid, piping hot, on the spit. It was "skilfully divided" with a kind of sword, and "laid in order due" upon the myrtle-branches; and all things being prepared, we stretched forth our hands — literally, as

Homer says (we would not have used our knives and forks for the world) — to the meat that was placed before us, while our host poured out copious libations of Hellenic wine. The feast was followed, again in strict Homeric fashion, by the singing of songs. Half a dozen wild-looking fellows were called in, and for two hours chanted in their peculiar manner a series of poems on various subjects, — battle-songs, lamentations for the dead, one for Marco Botzares, and love-songs. It was a piquant circumstance in the entertainment of the evening that — the Coryphæus, or leader of the band, showing a peculiar animation in singing one of the pieces, which describes the robbers of Mount Olympus — I was led to ask an explanation of his apparently excited feelings, and was told that he had been himself for eleven years a robber on Mount Olympus, though he was now a peaceable miller; and the poem which rekindled this spark of Klephtic feeling in my honest friend, Basilios, the son of Christopoulos, was one which I had myself translated three years before.

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